FELICITATION VOLUME

PRESENTED TO

Professor SRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR

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1957



Professor S. K. Belvalkar.

This Volume

of Papers written by

his Friends, Pupils and Admirers

from different Lands

IS DEDICATED

As a Mark of Respect and Affection

TO

DR. SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR

To felicitate him upon the Completion

of his 75th Year.

CONTENTS

Section III : Classical Sanskrit Literature.

Section IV : Pali and Prakrit Studies.

Section V: Religion and Philosophy

Section VI: Archæology, History, Geography and Technical Sciences.

PLATES

FOREWORD

BY

DR. S. K. BELVALKAR FELICITATION VOLUME COMMITTEE.

The services of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar to the cause of Indology and Sanskrit studies are well known in India and abroad. Dr. Belvalkar was largely responsible for the inception and subsequent growth of the All-India Oriental Conference. He was also one of the sponsors of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which has proved to be the parent of a number of similar Research Institutes founded in the country during the last forty years. To him again belongs in a large measure the credit for launching the project of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, of which he has been the General Editor since 1943. As Professor of Sanskrit, first at the Deccan College and later at the Banaras Hindu University, he has been a source of inspiration to a large number of students.

It was, therefore, naturally felt by a large number of his students, friends and admirers that a Felicitation Volume consisting of original papers bearing on Indology should be presented to him on the completion of his 75th year. A small committee was formed for the purpose in May 1955 with Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. R. N. Dandekar as Secretaries for taking the necessary steps in the matter. No general appeal for funds was made in this connection; a few friends were privately approached for the purpose and they responded liberally.

An Editorial Board was also formed for the publication of the Felicitation Volume with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as Chairman, Dr. A. S. Altekar as the Managing Editor and Dr. S. K. De, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. V. Raghavan and Dr. R. N. Dandekar as members. An appeal for papers was sent to scholars in India and abroad and there was a good and wide response.

The Committee was under the impression that the 76th birthday of Dr. Belvalkar fell on the 10th of December 1956. Later on it turned out that it actually fell on the 10th of December 1955. It was impossible to get the papers for the Volume and to publish them in book form within the short period of six months. There were considerable difficulties in getting a suitable press which possessed all the accented types. It was therefore decided that the Volume should be presented in December 1957 at the time of the 19th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held in Delhi.

Owing to various difficulties it was found that it would not be feasible to send the proofs to the authors of different papers, who were scattered from Tokyo to New York. Dr. Altekar, the Managing Editor, therefore went through the papers and corresponded with the contributors, where necessary, about points requiring elucidation or reconsideration. The Committee regrets that it had to bring out the Volume without getting the final proofs corrected by the authors. It is, however, hoped that there would not be many printing mistakes. For such of them as may have remained undetected the Managing Editor tenders his sincere apologies to the authors.

The Felicitation Volume Committee begs to express its deep gratefulness to Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, for graciously agreeing to present this Volume to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.

The Committee also desires to express its thanks to Messrs. Motilal Banarasidass, the enterprising firm of Oriental Publishers, for having come forward to publish this Felicitation Volume. It is also glad to express its appreciation of the prompt manner in which the Tara Printing Works, Banaras, prepared a number of new types and printed the work in a short time.

Ranighat Quarters, Patna. A. S. ALTEKAR
10-12-1957 *Managing Editor.*

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR. S. K. BELVALKAR

"Tasmād asaktaḥ satataṁ kāryaṁ karma samācara"

—Bhagavadgītā, 3.19[ab].

[Therefore, do thy duty without any attachment and unceasingly.]

"Is the lion in his den?" shouted the late Dr. S. V. Ketkar from downstairs. "No: but you can find a busy ant in the small ant hill" came a soft reply from Dr. Belvalkar, who was working in his study on the first floor. From this brief incident we can have some idea of what scholars have been thinking of Dr. Belvalkar, and of what Dr. Belvalkar thinks of himself. Belvalkar is always engrossed in his work, which may be research, or review, or mere proof-reading. He is forgetful of everything around him, and has to be reminded when the time for breakfast, lunch or dinner arrives.

Early incidents in the life of Dr. Belvalkar are not without interest. He was born on the 12th of December, 1880, in the village of Narasobācī Wādi, a small but famous Tīrtha in the district of Kolhapur. His parents had long waited for a son, and the birth of Shripad, named after the presiding deity of the Tīrtha, naturally transported them with joy. Unfortunately, on the Gokula-aṣṭamī day, Shripad lost his mother when he was only about 20 months old. His father paid great attention to his up-bringing, but the brunt of the work naturally fell upon his aunt, who bestowed upon him more than maternal affection. Dr. Belvalkar is often heard observing: "If Atti (his aunt) had not been there, I could not have accomplished the little that I have done."

His father was a strict disciplinarian, and young Shripad naturally imbibed the same habit. He finished his primary education in the Marathi School at Herle (a village near Kolhapur) under his father's personal guidance. He was the recipient of the Middle School and the High School scholarships, which proved a much-needed help to his education and a relief to the entire joint family consisting of seven or eight members.

Those were the days of child-marriage; so young Belvalkar, the only promising son of the family, was, at the age of sixteen, married to a seven-year-old girl, who has given him company, guidance and help for over sixty years, herself always preferring to remain in the background.

After passing in 1897 his Matriculation Examination from the Rajaram High School, Kolhapur, Belvalkar joined the Rajaram College of the same place, which then imparted education only upto the Intermediate Examination. Thereafter, Belvalkar got a two-years scholarship for continuing his College education. Accordingly, Belvalkar decided to go to Poona and join the Deccan College.

This was the first occasion for young Shripad to stay away from his elders, who were deeply attached to him. Though a resident student in what used to be then regarded as an aristocratic College of the Presidency, Belvalkar continued his habit of plain living and high thinking, devotion to studies and singlemindedness of purpose. In the Deccan College he got an additional scholarship, part of which used to be sent by him home.

After passing his B. A. in 1902 with English and Sanskrit as his special subjects, he was selected as the Dakshina Fellow of the Deccan College. In the first year of his Fellowship, on the advice of his Professor of English, J. N. Fraser, he wrote an essay on "The characteristics of good poetry as illustrated by the relative merit you would assign to the poems of Wordsworth and Shelley" in competition for the Homji Cursetji Dadi Prize of the Bombay University. Belvalkar won the prize consisting of books of the value of Rs. 350, and that was the first substantial addition to his library. In the same Fellowship period—thanks to Principal F. G. Selby, who was a keen student of European Philosophy, and F. W. Bain, who specialized in History and Politics—Belvalkar widened his outlook and conceived the idea of passing the M. A. examination in more than one subject, for which purpose the Bombay University had to amend its rule and permit a multiple M. A. Degree. Belvalkar took the M. A. with English and Sanskrit (four papers each) in 1904, and with History and Politics in 1905.

Owing to his father's old age and the straightened circumstances of the family, Belvalkar had to begin his post-Collegiate career with the job of an Assistant School-teacher in the Elphinstone High School in Bombay, for which purpose, as a preliminary qualification, he passed (1906) the S. T. C. examination, corresponding to the present B. T. or B. Ed.; but Belvalkar's dream of specialization in Indology could not be realized in the pedagogic career; and so, after about a year's work as a School-master, he accepted the Curatorship of the Deccan College MSS. Library (1908) when it fell vacant. As Curator of the MSS. Library, Belvalkar compiled the first part of the Descriptive Catalogue of Grammar MSS., besides going in, once again, for the M.A. in Greek and European Philosophy (1910), which he passed in Class I, winning the K. T. Telang Gold Medal. It may also be mentioned

that, while engaged in cataloguing the Grammar MSS., he wrote an Essay on "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar" for which he was awarded the Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik Gold Medal (1908*).

Just at this juncture, Professor J. H. Woods of the Harvard University (U. S. A.) was staying in Poona, engaged in doing some research work on the Yogasūtras of Patañjali; and at the suggestion of the Principal of the Deccan College, Belvalkar agreed to help him. Professor Woods highly appreciated Belvalkar's intelligent assistance; and as he wanted similar assistance also upon his return to Harvard, he inquired whether Belvalkar would care to go to Harvard for advanced studies. It was not an easy thing to decide. His old father passed away at this juncture (Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa Ekādaśī = May, 24, 1911) and there was practically nobody to look after the family. The late Shreemant Narayanrao Babasaheb Ghorpade, the Chief of Ichalkaranji, agreed to give some financial assistance on condition that Belvalkar would render, upon his return, a similar help to some other deserving student in consultation with the Chiefsaheb. Belvalkar fulfilled this condition within five years of his return from America. Belvalkar decided to go, leaving Mrs. Belvalkar, young and inexperienced as she was, to look after the family. So, with trust in God, Belvalkar left for America on the 18th of May 1912.

At Harvard, Belvalkar worked under Professor C. R. Lanman and submitted his Doctorate Thesis on the Uttara-Rāma-Charita, for which he got the Ph. D. (1914). Professor Lanman was much impressed by the scholarship shown in this work, and he did the book the honour to include it in the well-known Harvard Oriental Series, No. 21. Belvalkar dedicated the work to his Teacher in an appropriate Sanskrit verse. Belvalkar sailed for the homeward journey from New York, via Europe, on the 14th of June 1914. The return journey was, however, very seriously interrupted by the First European War, and it was by sheer luck that Belvalkar,—thanks to the timely warning and assistance of Professor Jacobi of Born, escaped being a prisoner of war in Germany. He landed in Bombay on September 6, 1914, and was there received by his anxiously awaiting family. It might be mentioned in passing that Dr. Belvalkar spent all his time during the homeward journey in the Marathi Translation of the Uttara-Rāma-Chaiita, which was published in India (1915) and dedicated to his wife: not by name but with apt words appreciative of the services which, young and inexperienced as she was, Mrs. Belvalkar had rendered to the family with patient courage and full faith in Providence.

Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Professor V. G. Vijapurkar of the Rajaram College, and Dr. C. R. Lanman

*The Essay was published in 1915, and is long out of print.

are regarded by Dr. Belvalkar as his guides and *Gurus*, who inculcated in him the qualities of simplicity, straightforwardness, and studious habits, which have ever since formed his second nature. For Prof. Vijapurker who first taught him how to appreciate Sanskrit, Belvalkar felt deep paternal reverence, which was reciprocated by the latter with a sincere filial affection. An incident, recently made public in another context, will amply bear this out. In 1925, on the occasion of a meeting between the Professor and the student in the Samartha Vidyālaya at Talegaon, Dr. Belvalkar presented his paper on the Recensions of the Śakuntala (published in the *Asia Major*, 1925) to Professor Vijapurkar with the verse :—

यदत्र सौष्ठवं किंचित्तद्गुरोरेव मे न हि ।
यदत्रासौष्ठवं किंचित्तन्ममैव गुरोर्नहिं ॥

To this the Professor sent a reply given in Appendix I (p. xxiii).

Lokamanya B. G. Tilak was not exactly a Guru to Dr. Belvalkar; but the former's Philosophy of Karmayoga profoundly influenced the latter's outlook on life. The political atmosphere of the period between 1914 and 1920 naturally rendered impossible any intimate personal or social intercourse between a Government servant and Lokamanya Tilak; but as the common interest between the parties was purely of a literary and philosophical character, Belvalkar availed himself of several opportunities to meet the Lokamanya, a full account of which can be read with interest in S. V. Bapat's Marathi book on the reminiscences of Lokamanya Tilak, Vol. II (1925), pp 61-74. The Lokamanya heartily approved of the proposed foundation of an Oriental Research Institute bearing the name of Dr. Bhandarkar, whom the Lokamanya always honoured as his Guru; he was accordingly one of the very early visitors to the Institute upon the completion of the central hall of its main building; and, soon after his visit, the Lokamanya gave a generous donation of Rs. one thousand to the Institute. The *Gītārahasya* appeared about the same time, and, at the express desire of the author, Belvalkar gave a detailed review of the book in the *Vividhajñānavistāra* (March, 1918), a Marathi magazine of repute in those days; the Lokamanya gave his reply also in the same issue.—Lokamanya Tilak was himself a student of the Deccan College, and, on the first anniversary of his death, Belvalkar as representing the Deccan College Gymkhana, which was an autonomous institution with its own rules, membership and funds—constituted a Lokamanya Memorial Committee, in the name of which, next year, a cupboard adorned with a miniature statue of the Lokamanya and containing rare and valuable books bearing on Vedic studies—some of them from Dr. Belvalkar's personal library—was placed in the

Deccan College Library Hall. That was an achievement in those days: in the present changed outlook, however, Dr. Belvalkar is anxious to do more. A proposal to establish—in view of the Lokamanya's studies and interest in Assyriology in its relation to the Indian Vedas—an Assyrio-Babylonian Institute at the B. O. R. I. was placed before the Prime Minister of India on the occasion of his recent visit to the Institute on the 1st of August, 1956, (which happened to be the Lokamanya's death Anniversary); but so far nothing tangible has come out of it: Belvalkar is anxious to pursue the point further.

On his return from America, Dr. Belvalkar was appointed as the Professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College, which post he held for 18 years. During this period, like other professors, he delivered lectures, inspired a number of students to take to research, himself also writing several books and research articles which brought him fame and honour. His most outstanding work, however, was the foundation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. A full account of the foundation of the Institute—of the difficulties encountered and successfully overcome—can still be profitably read in the Appendix to the first volume of the *Annals* of the B. O. R. I. giving the report of the Working Committe's work from the 6th of July, 1915 (Bhandarkar's 78th birthday) to the 10th of September, 1918, when the BORI began functioning as a regular institution with a Regulating Council elected by its Members,—the late Dr. P. D. Gune of the Fergusson College functioning as its Secretary. The idea of organizing an All-India Oriental Conference and holding its First Session under the auspices of the BORI belongs primarily to Dr. Gune. Dr. Belvalkar had soon to build his own bunglow (the Bilvakunja) near the Institute for the safety of the Govt. Mss. Library transferred to the keeping of the B. O. R. Institute.

The Critical Edition of the Great Epic of India was originally planned by the *savants* of Europe as early as 1897, but nothing definite could be done for some years, and the idea had to be automatically dropped after the outbreak of the First European War. In his review of the *Gītārahasya* (see *ante*, p. xiv), Dr. Belvalkar had casually thrown out the suggestion that the Critical Edition might well be worked out now by the scholars in India. This suggestion was enthusiastically taken up by the late Rajasaheb of Aundh, who was then himself planning a volume of illustrations for the Mahābhārata. The assent and approval of the First Oriental Conference for B. O. R. Institute taking up the project was easily obtained; and on the Varṣapratipadā of the year A. D. 1919, a formal beginning was made, when the Rajasaheb promised a donation of one lakh from the Aundh State. At its initial stage, the services of the late Mr. N. B.

Utgikar proved of great use, while Dr. V. S. Sukthankar was appointed the General Editor (Aug. 1925) to formulate the underlying principles and the actual format of the final edition.

Dr. Belvalkar did not wish, owing to his other undertakings, to participate in the work of the Critical Edition beyond editing a Parvan: preferably the Bhīṣma, the completed press-copy of which was submitted by him on the first of February, 1941. But before the financial and other arrangements could be completed, Dr. Sukthankar suddenly died (Januaiy, 1943), and there arose the question of appointing his successor. The choice unanimously fell upon Dr. Belvalkar, who, however, in view of his experience as the Hon. General Secretary of the Institute during 1927 to 1933, when he had to severely fight the financial situation, refused to accept the regular salary of the post, but merely some honorarium; and even this he has relinquished for the last few years. He has himself edited, besides the Bhīṣma, the longest and the most difficult Parvan, viz., the Śānti (a total of over 2,500 pages), and is now working on the four short concluding Parvans of the Epic, after which he has resolved, looking to his earlier unfinished commitments, to relinquish the Mahābhārata work.

In addition to the three years of his work as Secretary of the initial Working Committee referred to on p. xv above, Dr. Belvalkar had to function as a regularly elected Secretary of the B. O. R. I. for six years : from 1927 to 1933. In the course of the first ten years of its work, the Institute had acquired not only an All-India but also an International status, so that the Institute received visits from quite a large number of renowned scholars and advanced students from India, Europe as well as America. The area where the B. O. R. I. is located was not, during this period, as much developed as it has become since; nor were any quick and comfortable means of conveyance then generally available. So a suitable Guest House for visitors was an urgently felt need. In its absence, Dr. and Mrs. Belvalkar had to accommodate the guests, or at least invite them for occasional tea—in the Bilvakuñja itself. And as there was then a motor car in the Bilvakuñja, it would be an ordinary courtesy to take the visitors to adjoining places of interest like the Simhagad, the Parvati, the Karla and Bhaja caves, and to Alandi, Dehu and similar sacred places. Among such guests may be mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Kalidas Nag, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Dr. Kokatnur, Dr. and Frau Lüders, Dr. Hiriyanna, Dr. and Mrs. M. H. Krishna and Dr. Edgerton : just to name a few whose memories are still green with the host and the hostess. This long-felt need of a Guest-House, Dr. Belvalkar was able to satisfy during his secretaryship by leading, upon the advice of the Right Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar, a deputation to Sir Akbar Hyderi at Hyderabad. The Nizam's Guest House became an

accomplishsd fact before the termination of Dr. Belvalkar's Secretaryship (1933).

Along with the preservation of the Deccan College MSS. Library, the B. O. R. Institute was assigned the task of continuing the "Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series" for which the necessary annual grant was made available by the Government of Bombay. This Series was originally meant for the editing of unedited Sanskrit and Prakrit texts; but, with the approval of the Government of Bombay, the B. O. R Institute widened the scope of the Series so as to include in it independent research works, the most outstanding of which is Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmśāstra* which has already covered, in five bulky tomes, over 4,000 pages, and there are going to be two more extending over another 1,000 pages, on which the octogenerian Mahamahopadhyaya is still working. The work has immensely increased the prestige of the Institute which, of course, has been in this case only the *nimittamātram*. Another work in the same Series, the suggestion for the compiling and publication of which originated from Dr. Belvalkar, is the "Mahābhāṣyaśabdakośa" by Mahamahopadhyaya Shridhar Shastri Pathak (once working at the Deccan College and now an ascetic practising penance in the Brahmāvarta under the name of Shri Shankarananda Bhāratī), assisted by Siddheshvar Shastri Chitrav of Poona. The work constitutes an *Index Verborum* to Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya*. About this work, Dr. Bruno Liebich, in his letter in German, dated 7 Nov. 1931 and addrssed to Dr. Belvalkar, says:..."...... wort index zu Patañjali's Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya, ein work, das, seit es in meine Hände gelangt ist, meinem Schreibtish nicht mehr verlass hat" [.. a work which, ever since it came into may hands, has never left my writing table"]. Such a work could be compiled only by Sanskrit Shastris trained in the traditional method of study. That race of Shastris, unfortunately is fast languishing for want of encourgement and support by Government. Realising the urgent necessity of taking adequate steps in the matter, Dr. Belvalkar, on the 2nd of January, 1927, organised a public meeting and issued a Prospectus (covering some 80 pages) and thereafter actually brought into existence, with the cooperation of existing institutions of the type, a "Poona Sanskrit College", which is still continuing its existence. A product of the College who spent more than six years in the traditional Shastric study has been working as an Āchārya in the College all these years; what is more: he has learnt English and become concurrently a University Graduate, and has now gone to Harvard to study methods of research, promising that after return, he will, if necessary, again become an Āchārya in the Sanskrit College. Let us, however, hope that the Sanskrit Commission, which has just concluded its work, will not be permitted by those in authority to go the way of all

such commissions, but will prove instrumental in achieving something substantial.

The Bombay Government of the day thought it fit to close the Deccan College where Dr. Belvalkr was educated and where he worked as Professor till 1933, on the ground that it was expensive (the annual Government contribution hardly went beyond Rs. 30,000) and superfluous. The Government also proposed to sell the land and the buildings! Government had of course to go to the court and obtain its permission. Dr. Belvalkar conceived the idea of opposing the proposal on behalf of the Old Boys of the College. Fortunately, two distinguished luminaries of the legal Profession—the Right Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar and Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane—although neither of them was an alumnus of the Deccan College—came forward to offer their advice and assistance purely out of public spirit and without charging anything in the way of lawyer's fees. The case was fought out in the court of the late Mr. D.D. Nanavati, I.C.S., the District Judge of Poona, from 16-12-1953 to 23-12-1953, in the course of which Dr. Belvalkar had to appear in the witness-box, give evidence, and help in the cross-examination of the witnesses on the other side. The case aroused much public interest and the judgment was hailed with acclamation. The full text of the judgment was printed and sold amongst the Old Boys with a view to meet the deficit in expenditure—Mrs. Belvalkar was present in the Court and saw her husband in the Witness-box.—The Deccan College is still going on, working, however, as a Post-graduate and Research Institution. It has already acquired an All-India status in that capacity.

The First All-India Oriental Conference, as already mentioned, was held in Poona. The present Delhi Conference of 1957 is the 19th in the series; and, except one, Dr. Belvalkar has attended all of them, and he is the only scholar who has attended so many. He was elected President of the Vedic Section at Calcutta, and of the Philosophy Section at Patna. He was elected the General President of the Banaras Session. He has submitted papers at several of these sessions. These will be found indexed in the Index-Volume, which goes up to 1944. Dr. Belvalkar has sent valuable literary contributions to twenty Commemoration or Felicitation Volumes in honour of R. G. Bhandarkar (1917), Asutosh Mookerji (1925), R. Garbe (1927), Vasanta Rajata Smāraka Grantha (1927), C. R. Lanman (1929), J.J. Modi (1930), Rabindra Nath Tagore (1931), Dayananda (1933), Sayajirao Gayakwad (1933: in Marathi), Bhawanrao Aundh (1934: in Marathi), F.W. Thomas (1939), Ross (1939); M. M. Malaviya (1943: in Hindi), B. C. Law (1945), C. K. Raja (1946), A. B. Dhruva (1946), Vikrama Volume (1948), Mahāvīra Smāraka

Grantha (1950): and Hiriyanna (1952).—Dr. Belvalkar's contributions to the *Annals*, which is the mouthpiece of the BORI, naturally includes his statements made at the anniversary functions on the Ṛṣipañcamī, and discussions of specific problems arising out of his study of the Mahābhārata. His paper, for instance, on the "Origin and Funcitions of the State" read on August 28, 1949, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and his paper (in Marathi) read in the Tilak Smarak Mandir on December 20, 1950 explain the Śāntiparvan theory of the Origin and Evolution of the State, and bring out its superiority to similar theories of Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Burke, Spencer, and other writers on the subject which, both the distinguished chairman as also several connoisseurs of the subject have pronounced as quite convincing. A selection from his other scattered papers will be found listed on pp. xxvii-xxxi.

In the early decades of the 19th century, the majority of the Professors in most of our Colleges concerned themselves mainly with lectures to the undergraduate and the B. A. classes. Post-graduate lectures did not normally come within their programme. Dr. Belvalkar, from the very beginning of his appointment at the Deccan College, started lecturing to the M.A. classes as well. After the B. O. R. Institute began to function, Belvalkar started his M.A. lectures in the Institute also, which were thrown open to all graduate students upon the payment of a small fee to the Institute. Several of the Professors from the other Colleges (including retired Professors and other specialists such as Dr. S. V. Ketkar) also participated in the scheme, some of the lectures being given also in the City for the convenience of the attending students. Eventually the Bombay University to which the Poona Collegiate institutions were at that time affiliated, took up the whole scheme under their direction. Accordingly, on behalf of the Bombay University, Dr. Belvalkar was called upon to give a series of from 20 to 24 lectures, once or twice per week, on subjects such as (i) Vedānta Philosophy with special reference to the Philosophy of Śaṁkara and Rāmānuja; (ii) Evolution of Religion and Philosophy; (iii) Principles of Textual Criticism; (iv) Ancient Indian Culture; and (v) Sāṁkhya and Yoga. Upon the completion of 25 years after the foundation of the B.O.R. Institute, Belvalkar organised a Silver Jubilee Course of 25 lectures on the Bhagavadgītā (running from 7-7-42 to 26-2-43 and thrown open to all regular and intelligent listeners, discussions on difficulties being permitted if notified one day previously. The experiment proved quite successful.—It may be mentioned in this connection that on February 10, 1945, Dr. Belvalkar accepted an invitation from Mysore to give there the Shri Krishnarajendra Silver Jubilee Lecture on "The Problem of Free Will and its Solution according to the Bhagavadgītā".

To compile a History of Indian Philosophy on the lines of Zeller's History of Greek Philosophy was one of the dreams of Dr. Belvalkar's post-graduate days in the Deccan College, and it was with a view to be able to carry out that dream that Dr. Belvalkar, on the advice of Principal Selby, attempted to widen the scope of his vision by going in for a triple M. A. degree. In the late lamented Dr. R. D. Ranade, Belvalkar met a kindred, colleague, and they, after days of discussion, planned out their joint scheme of the History of Indian Philosophy in eight volumes. Dr. Belvalkar was to be the main participant in the first three volumes (out of which, Vol. II, *The Creative Period*, was published in 1927,) while Dr. Ranade, who took the last three volumes published Vol. 7, part i, named *Mahārāshtra Mysticism*, in 1933. For the intervening volumes, it was intended to take assistance of one or two expert collegues. Unhappily, Dr. ("Gurudeva") Ranade passed away only a few months ago, and the lines with which the printed eight-volume scheme concluded :

"Works, in moments of inspiration willed
Through years of labour are fulfilled."

proved more accurate than what the joint authors dreamed.—Now that Dr. Belvalkar is left alone to carry on, he is at least anxious to accomplish the projected Volume 3, which deals with the Mahābhārata philosophy with which his work as General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata,—particularly his editions of the Bhīṣma and the Sānti Parvans, have made him familiar, the more so because he had discussed the contents of that volume with his departed colleague several times.

A reference has already been made earlier to the edition of the Uttara-Rāma-Charita in the Harvard Or. Series, the first volume out of the projected three being completed and printed before Dr. Belvalkar left for India. The printed and MSS. material for the remaining two volumes was despatched to India directly via Atlantic. In the First European War this was interned off Balearic Isles, and reached the owner after four years and considerably damaged. The restoration of the damage and the publication of volumes 22 and 23 in the Harvard Series is going to mean at least one year exclusively devoted for the task.

The Bhagavadgītā and the Śākuntala are two other subjects which have been all along occupying the thoughts of Dr. Belvalkar. On the Sākuntala, which Dr. Belvalkar is now editing for the Sahitya Academy, he has so far written eight critical papers[1] highly spoken of by connoisseurs, and the fruit of his attempt to reach the basic version of the Play, of which four divergent versions (viz., Bengali, Devanāgarī, Southern, and Kashmirian) are current, is eagerly awaited. The collations

1. **Nos. 10, 23, 29, 41-44 and 52 in the Select List of Research Publications.**

and the critical comparison of the numerous variant readings is unhappily taking far more time than was expected.

As to the Bhagavadgītā, Dr. Belvalkar's objective is more or less similar. There are attempts made to add to the "authorised" version a few extra stanzas on the one hand, while there are on the other side attempts to settle the "original form of the Poem and assume a series of accretions to the same, in most cases with the inner motive to trace the origins of the "Theism" in the Poem to some sources *outside India*, and fix the date of the Poem to suit this alleged borrowing[1].

When Dr. Belvalkar was teaching the Bhagavadgītā to the Deccan College students, the atmosphere, in Maharashtra at any rate, was redolent with the "Rahasya" controversy. He had therefore, to study the subject in all its historical and philosophical aspects, for which a knowledge of earlier writings in India as well as in Europe was quite essential. He had also to go to the root of the controversy regarding India's borrowing of the Bhakti doctrine from the West, the glamour of which possessed several Indian scholars. Dr. Belvalkar has acquired an astonishing stock of books on the subject. He also published what he calls "authorised" version of the Gītā upon his completing the 60th year, available for a nominal price. The edition is furnished with an *Index of Pādās*, which no edition published upto that time had given. A reference has already been made to Dr. Belvalkar's "BORI Silver Jubilee Lectures" on the Bhagavadgītā. He has edited from a solitary Śāradā MS. Ānandavardhana's Jñānakarmasamuccaya-ṭīkā on the BG (1941), as also an English Translation (1943) with a critical introduction of a hundred pages, which tackles most of the critical issues arising out of that Poem. In the Basu Mullik Lectures which Dr. Belvalkar delivered at the Calcutta University (December, 1925), the third lecture deals with the Bhagavadgītā problem and in particular with Garbe's theory about the Poem. The first six of these lectures were published 1929. For his other papers on the Bhagavadgītā, see Select List of Research Publications (pp. xxv-xxxi), papers nos. 12, 26, 32, 33, 46, 47, 48, and 51.

Every new visitor to the Bilvakuñja who is introduced into Dr. Belvalkar's studies (there are two of them adjoining each other, with a commodious writing table and the walls hidden by ceiling-high bookcases) is struck by the number of books that are collected there, most of them belonging to Dr. Belvalkar himself. His multiple interests and the varied lines of study and research that he is still pursuing have compelled him (since Vidyā, unhappily, is no longer *kaṇṭhasthā*, but only *pustakasthā*) to work amongst books, which, whenever needed, Dr. Belvalkar is able to immediately locate, and after the necessary reference, return them to

their old places.--Dr. Belvalkar's present interests are mainly related to Sanskritic studies; but it will be recalled that English Literature, History, Politics and Philosophy once formed the sujects of his higher studies, and he has a creditable collection of books even on these subjects, which have been located in other parts of the house.

The credit for Dr. Belvalkar's achievements is shared, it has to be mentioned, by his better half. If Mrs. Belvalkar had not given him freedom from worldly anxieties and practical worries, he would not have had the peace of mind to achieve what he has so far achieved or what he wishes to accomplish in future.--Mrs. Belvalkar takes keen interest in the literature and philosophy of Maharashtra saints, and they have made several trips to nearby (and even some of the more important distant) places of religious, historical or antiquarian interest. Mrs. Belvalkar accompanied her husband at some eight or nine sessions of the Oriental Conference, when they took the opportunity to witness nearby places of interest. Both have further developed an equanimity of mind and trust in Providence which have enabled them to face stoically their share of family calamities. When, for instance, one of their daughters was on her death-bed, Dr. Belvalkar recited the entire Bhagavad-gītā, sitting by her bed.

Dr. Belvalkar is at his best when in the company of children, who generally throng around him after dinner, and refuse to go to bed unless they hear one or more stories. The stories are made so lively with appropriate action and imitation that even the grown-ups listen to them with rapt attention. The moral of the story is brought out, where possible, with an appropriate Sanskrit verse, which the more grown up listeners are made to repeat and gradually learn by heart.

Dr. Belvalkar is now old in age, but young in spirits and optimistic in outlook. He can still work, and actually does so. He does not therefore think of resting upon his oars. He has some programme always ahead of him, and in carrying it out to the best of his abilities, he does not think so much of his personal interest as of the institution for which he might be working, or some impersonal goal which he might be endeavouring to attain. May God make him a healthy and active centenarian blessed in the attainment of his intellectual and spiritual goal.—Amen !

Appendix to the Biographical Sketch

Prof. V. G. Vijapurkar's blessings to Dr. Belvalkar.

अवलोक्य विनीतस्य सच्छिष्यस्य समुद्यमम् ।
अभिमानयुतानंदो जायते सुमहान्हृदि ॥
न्यस्तास्त्र आत्तदीक्षाकः ऋषिः कुशिकनंदनः ।
रामचंद्रस्य सानंदमभ्यनंदत् पराक्रमम् ॥
स्थानेषु शिष्यनिवहैर्विनियुज्यमाना ।
विद्या गुरुं हि गुणवत्तरमातनोति ॥
आदाय शुक्तिषु वलाहकविप्रकीर्णै-
रत्नाकरो भवति वारिभिरम्बुराशिः ॥ (अनर्घराघवम्)
अल्पं बीजमुपादाय कृषीवलः परिश्रमैः ।
सुवृष्टया कृतसाहाय्यः सस्यं हि लभते बहु ॥
कृपया परमेशस्य लभस्व सकलं सुखम् ॥

ता० २४-१०-२५ (Signed) वि. गो. विजापुरकर

ACADEMIC DISTINCTIONS OF DR. S. K. BELVALKAR.

1902-4.	Dakshina Fellow at the Deccan College, Poona.
1903.	The Homjee Coursetjee Dady Prize of the Bombay University for an Essay on the Poetry of Wordsworth and Shelley.
1906.	The Sujna Gokulji *Zala* Vedanta Prize of the Bombay University for an Essay on Examination of Śaṁkara's Refutation of the Sāṁkhya Philosophy.
1907-12.	Worked as Curator (Assistant Professor) in the Govt. Mss. Library at the Deccan College.
1909.	The Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik Gold Medal of the Bombay University for an Essay on Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.
1910.	The Kashinath Tryambak Telang Gold Medal of the Bombay University in Philosophy for standing first in that subject.
1917.	Principal Founder of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
1915-18 and 1927-33.	Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
1922.	President, Vedic Section, Calcutta Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.
1926.	President, Veda and Avesta Section, Allahabad Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.
1930.	President, Philosophy Section, Patna Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.
1926-37.	Honorary General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference.
1938-39.	Deputy-President, All-India Oriental Conference.
1943.	President, All-India Oriental Conference, Banaras Session.
1943.	Honorary Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society, London, and of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

A SELECT LIST OF RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS OF DR. S. K. BELVALKAR

(a)—Longer Works, with Scholars' Opinions.

(1) *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. viii + 148 ; 1915

"A careful and scholarly survey of its large and important theme"........... "On all essential points it is full and sound"—*L. D. Barnett* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 182-83.

"I was delighted with the originality of the book and the acumen with which you have discussed the subject-matter of the book".—*Bimal Charan Deb*, Calcutta, Letter dated 4-9-1923.

(2) *Rāma's Later History* or *Uttara-Rāma-Charita*, pp. lxxxviii + 102, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 21, 1915.

"I have read with the greatest pleasure your most admirable translation in the Harvard Oriental Series. It is real luck that one of the greatest of *kavis* should have come into the hands of such an eminently competent and perfectioned translator".—*Jarl Charpentier*, Upsala, Letter dated 13-10-23.

(3) *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin*,, edited with an English Translation, viii + 48 + 102.

"Many thanks for your Kāvyādarśa, Text and Translation. Your book will prove very useful. Böthlingk's German translation was not quite what we might have expected from so great a scholar, as he did not go deeper into the *śāstra*".—*H. Jacobi*, Bonn, Letter dated 14-4-25.

"Besten Dank für Zusendung Ihrer Ausgabe Uebersetzung des Kāvyādarśa. Ich lese die Arbeit mit grossen Interesse und freue mich dass diese wichtige Work einmal sachgemäse bearbeitet werden ist".—Joh. Nobel, Berlin, Letter dated 5-5-1925.

4. *Brahmasūtra* II. i & ii with *Śaṅkarabhāṣya*, edited with English Translation & Notes, First Ed., 1923, Second Ed., 1931, Third Ed., 1938.

"Professor Belvalkar, whose excellent activities in various fields of Sanskrit research are certainly looked upon with approval and admiration by all Western scholars, has undertaken to give in this work a text with translation and notes......which will form a handy introduction to the study of Indian philosophical literature ....The book seems to be admirably suited for lectures as well as for private studies, and it is hoped that Professor Belvalkar will soon see his way to present us with a comprehensive work

on Śaṅkara's life, writings and philosophy, of which he speaks in the preface. Evidently no scholar could be better adapted for performing a task like that".—J. Charpentier, *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, p. 369.

"Ihre Buch über Brahmasūtras II. i, ii. ist eine Leistung von hervorragender Sorgfalt und enthält in den Noten wichtige und scharfsinnige Beobachtungen."—R. Garbe, Tübingen, Letter, dated 18-9-1924.

"The work forms a most convenient introduction to the serious study of Śaṅkara's great and very interesting book, and it appears to me to be executed with that care and ability which one expects from your earlier achievements".—*A. B. Keith*, Edinburgh, Letter dated 17-9-24.

"You will hardly believe it, but the fact is that I was just engaged on the second *adhikaraṇa*, as I am editing two texts of Buddhist Vijñānamātra Philosophy. You came as a blessed help. I cannot thank you enough for your substantial notes. That is the way how Saṅkara has to be treated : a well-deserved respect, but no superstition".—Sylvain Lévi, Paris, Letter dated 23-10-24.

"This is a most useful and stimulating work : exactly what is wanted for young students of Indian Philosophy".—F. O. Schrader, Kiel, Letter dated 17-5-1926.

5. *The Creative Period*, being History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, (Jointly with Professor R.D. Ranade), pp. xxxii + 514. 1927.

"It is a happy combination of philology and philosophy, which is the only method by which we can hope to come to safe conclusions".—M. Winternitz, Prague, Letter dated 13-2-1928.

"It contains some new ideas and collections of materials which will interest the student of Upaniṣads and promote research in this ever inexhaustible subject."—H. Jecob, Bonn, Letter dated 28-2-1928.

"The joint work undertakes the ambitious task of splitting up the Upaniṣads into smaller units and to show the historical stratification of these units.........There is no doubt however that in the joint work Professor Belvalkar's historical contribution and final evaluation are the most important parts".—H.D. Bhattacharya, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, pp. 188-92.

6. *Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy*, Part i, pp. xv + 240.

"Of all recent publications on the subject, the work is certainly one of the most remarkable and interesting ones for its ambitious programme, for its freshness of outlook, for its discerning,

if summary, treatment of issues, for its consistent critical attitude and above all for its first systematic attempt to apply the historical method to the study of one of the most difficult branches of Indian Philosophy".—S. K. De, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, pp. 410-13.

(b) Shorter Papers, with Scholars' Opinions.

7. *Māṭharavṛtti and the Date of Īśvarakṛṣṇa*, R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 171-184 ; 1917.

"It seems to me that you have shown that Īśvarakṛṣṇa was not the author of the work translated by Paramārtha in the 5th century".—E. W. Hopkins, New Haven, Letter dated 18-8-24.

"Sie haben mit Sicherheit festgestellt, dass die Māṭharavṛttl das Originalvon Paramārtha's chinesischer Uebersetzung ist, dass und in welcher Weise Gauḍapāda diessen alten Kommentar benutz hat, und wie Paramārtha bei seiner Uebersetzung der Māṭharavṛtti mit Auslassungen und Zusäzen verfahren ist . ... ..Ich beglückwünsche Sie zu der Entdeckung der beiden Handschriften der Māṭharavṛtti. Das ist der glücklichsts literairche Fund seit der Auffindung des Kauṭilīya und der Dramen Bhāsa's".—R. Garbe, Tübingen, Letter dated 25-5-1923.

8. *Literary Strata in Ṛgveda*, Proceedings of the Calcutta Oriental Conference, pp. 11-34.

"Your idea of tracing literary strata in the Ṛgveda by means of the Nirukta seems very plausible to me. If we only know more about Yāska's date, and what is still more important for your argument, the date of the Nighaṇṭus.' There seems to be a considerable distance of time between Yāska and the Nighaṇṭus, since Yāska refers to many predecessors."—M. Winternitz, Letter dated 30-9-34, Prague.

"Your papers on Vedic lore are full of interest and particularly rich in suggestions. I hope you will go on in this line which promises to be very fruitful".—Sylvain Lévi, Paris, Letter dated 23-10-34.

"In your paper it is easy to feel the master hand. I have long been sure that India had a new Bhandarkar in you. Your paper interested me the more, as I have been working on the Nirukta and the Nighaṇṭus for some years. Your paper, unfortunately for me, makes a lot of my yet unpubl;shed material superfluous, and I need not add that I agree with you in the main".—H. Sköld, Lund, Letter dated 24-4-1929.

9. ***Māṭharavṛtti* and *Paramārtha*, Annals B.O.R. Institute, Vol. V, pp. 133-168.**

"In my opinion you have made a convincing case for your main thesis."—L. D. Barnett, London, Letter dated 23-9-24.

"I am convinced that your view is correct, at any rate in the main. The various correspondences and differences do not seem susceptible of any other explanation !"—F. W. Thomas, London, 26-2-26.

10. *Canons of Textual and Higher Criticism as applied to the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa*, contributed to the *Asia Major*, Vol. II. pt. Leipzig.

"It has given me so much pleasure to read it, that I could not have laid it aside before finishing the whole of it, and becoming fully aware of how many beauties of Kālidāsa's Śākuntala had still been hidden before my eyes, before I knew your interpretation of the questionable passages".— Charlotte Krause, Bombay, Letter dated 10-1-26.

"I have read the paper and greatly admired it. Everything in it is so excellent—the emendations of the text, the interpretations of scenes and situations, and the character sketches. I have marked several passages in it for their value and shall cherish the present much."—M. Hiriyanna, Mysore, Letter dated 19-11-25.

"Your remarks on textual and higher criticism to Śākuntala are very suggestive".—M. Winternitz, Prague, Letter dated 29-9-25.

11. *Four Unpublished Upaniṣadic Texts*, tentatively edited for the first time with an English Translation, Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference, pp. 17-40.

"As to the three prose Upaniṣads, I had an idea, for some time, of reconstructing and editing them, or having them edited by a pupil of mine, but I am glad, after all, that you have taken to them and made of them the best that could be made".—F. O. Schrader, Kiel, Letter dated 17-6-1926.

"Eine wortvolle Engänzung unserer Kentniss der Upaniṣads". —R. Garbe, Tübingen, Letter dated 18-9-26.

"They are extremely interesting, and form a valuable addition to the literature on the subject".—L. D. Barnett, London, Letter dated 14-9-26.

"This paper on Four Unpublished Upaniṣads evidently contains an important contribution to the history of the Upaniṣads and of Indian Philosophy in general".—J. Jolly, Würtxburg, Letter dated 21-9-25.

"Sie wissen aus meiner "Note on Bhababhūti and on Vākpatirāja' dass ich Ihre Arbeit hoch einschätze, und Ihre Upani-

ṣadentexte sind mir besonders wettvoll".—J. Hertel, Leipzig, Letter dated 5-10-25.

"You have done well in publishing these four rare Upaniṣads, though the text, especially of the Bāṣkala, is full of cruses. The Upaniṣads will no doubt give rise to further discussions and investigations, and this will be very useful".—M. Winternitz, Prague, Letter dated 29-9-25.

12. *Paryaṅka-vidyā* (Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad Chap. II, Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference, pp. 41-50.

"I was particularly interested in the second part, the Paryaṅka-vidyā, which you have so ably elucidated".—E. W. Hopkins., New Haven, Letter dated 1-12-25.

(c) Select list of other Papers (without opinions)

13. *Miscarriage of attempted Stratification of the Bhagavad-gītā*, Journal of the Bombay University, Vol. V, Pt. vi. pp. 63-133.

14. *Text-tradition of Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāma-Carita*, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 35, pp. 428-33.

15. *History of the Search for Sanskrit Mss, in the Bombay Presidency*, being the Foreword to the Descriptive Catalouge of Sanskrit Mss., Vedic Section, Vol. I.

16. *Undercurrents in Jainism*, Indian Philosophical Review Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 32-36.

17. *Undercurrents in Jainism: Reply to Criticism*, Jain Saṁśodhaka, Vol. I, Pt. i.

18. *Multiple Authorship of the Brahmasūtras*, Indian Philosophical Review, Vol. II, pp. 141-154.

19. *Relation between Bhāsa's Cārudatta and Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭika*, Proceedings, First Oriental Conference, Vol. II, pp. 189-204.

20. *Origin of Indian Drama*, Calcutta Review for May 1922.

21. *Presidential Address, Vedic Section*, Calcutta Oriental Conference Proceedings, pp. 3-9

22. *Anniversary Address*, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on *Controversy over the Original Home of the Aryans*, Journal No. 2, pp. 89-100.

23. *The Original Śākuntala*, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia, Pt. II, pp. 349-359.

Scheme of Transliteration

अ a, आ ā, इ i, ई ī, उ u, ऊ ū,

ऋ ṛ, ॠ ṝ, ए e, ऐ ai, ओ o,

औ au, *anusvāra* ṁ, *visarga*, ḥ.

क् k, ख् kh, ग् g, घ् gh, ङ् ṅ

च् c, छ् ch, ज् j, झ् jh, ञ् ñ

ट् ṭ, ठ् ṭh, ड् ḍ, ढ् ḍh, ण् ṇ

त् t, थ् th, द् d, ध् dh, न् n

प् p, फ् ph, ब् b, भ् bh, म् m

य् y, र् r, ल् l, व् v, श ś, ष ṣ

स् s, ह् h, ळ् ḷ

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ANALECTA INDOIRANICA

BY

PROF. H. W. BAILEY, CAMBRIDGE.

New knowledge of the lost Iranian vocabulary has made it now desirable to survey the vocabularies of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* where many isolated words occur, which at times have widely attested equivalents in the Iranian texts. This new knowledge is largely derived from the many texts in the languages of the Śakas of Tumshuq and Khotan, the manuscripts from Sogdiana and Turfan, and the Parthian and Persian books from Chinese Turkestan.

One of these isolated words is the Ṛgvedic *raphitá–*, with which it is possible to associate the Iranian *raf–*.

In Middle Parthian texts a verb *raf–* occurs. Thus we have *ud dō kārwān kē pad man rafēnd anāsāy* 'and the two troops which press upon me (=attack me) are numberless'.[1] Similar is *harw avxrōsēnd ud rafēnd, haxsēnd avar man padrazēnd* 'all cry out upon me and attack, they pursue, they rise against me'.[2] The nominal *raf* 'attack' occurs in the phrase *raf ud zambag* 'attacks and conflicts' and in *až raf ǒē was zambag* 'from the attacks of many conflicts'.[3]

From Middle Persian we have *rafīdugīh* 'attack' and *rafag* 'assailant'.[4]

The Sogdian has in Buddhist texts r'β, Manich. *r'f *rāf* 'illness', with adjectival derivatives Bud. *r'βkw*, Manich. *r'fk'w* 'ill', and Bud. *r'βkyn*, Manich. *r'fqyn *rāfkēn* 'ill'.[5] Beside this we find also Bud. *rβny *rafna–* 'wounded' and *rnp–*, *rnβ– *ranf–* used of 'physical violence'.[6]

In Middle Iranian intervocalic *–f–* (as also in the Avestan) may represent either older *–f–* or *–b–*. Hence here either *raf–* or *rab–* could be the older base. A further difficulty in Parthian, but not in Sogdian, was the occasional replacement of older *–m–*

1. Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica* 3, p. 36.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
3. M. Boyce, *The Manichean Hymn-cycles in Parthian*, p. 70; A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, p. 56.
4. W. B. Henning, *BSOS* 9.87.
5. I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, p. 162.
6. E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, p. 197.

by *-f-*, as in Mid. Parth. *waf-* 'spit', beside Avestan *vam-*, Khot. *bam-* 'vomit'.

There remains Khotanese *rrāha-* 'illness, pain' occurring frequently in medical texts, in which we have an older **rāfa-*, as the meaning shows, although intervocalic Khotanese *-h-* may have several different origins. In Khotanese we have also from *ramph-* 'fight' the noun *rraphai jsa* 'from fighting', in the Siddhasāra 104 v 2, which renders the Tibetan *stobs hgyed-pa*, the translation of Sanskrit *yuddhe*

This evidence gives for Iranian a verb *ranf-* and *raf-* 'attack'.

An isolated word *raphitá-* occurs in *Ṛgveda* 10. 117. 2, a poem in praise of liberality.

yá ādhrāya cakamānāya pitvó
'nnavān sán raphitāya upajagmúṣe
sthirám mánaḥ kṛṇuté sévate purā

Sāyaṇa's commentary offers *hiṁsita-*, with *dāridreṇa* 'poverty' for more precise definition. This is in accord with the Dhātupāṭha which offers among other meanings *hiṁsā* and *yuddha*. The verbal forms given are *raphati, ṛphati, ramphati, ṛmphati*. The context would suit an equivalent of *ādhrá-* . Geldner's recent translation has however *klappernd* 'chattering', as if connected with *rap-*. In J. Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, II. 2. 556, we have 'miserable'.

Comparison with Iran. *raf-, ranf-* 'attack' will decide the meaning 'depressed' for *raphitá-*. We have then to start with Ind. *raph-, ramph-*, Iran. *raf-, ranf-* 'press, oppress, suppress'. This gives **rāfa-* 'illness' as we find, for example, in Old Indian *am-* 'to press' and *ámīvā-, āmaya-* 'illness'.

It is likely too that Khotanese *parāha-* 'self-control, translation of Sanskrit *śīla-*', *parrh-* : *parosta-, parausta-* 'to restrain oneself' belong here. The base will be *pati-rāf-* and *pati-raf-s-* in the participle[7]. On this I hope to give details later.

7. Earlier attempts to explain this word (Leumann, *Glossar to E*, and Sten Konow, *Primer of Khotanese Saka*, p. 18) did not justify the *-au-*, *-o-* of the participle.

SANSKRIT LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES

By

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1. √ *ard–*

In his *Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary* s.v. Manfred Mayrhofer gives as the meaning of this root, (*árdati, ṛdáti*) "flows, dissolves", (*ardáyati*) "makes to flow, dissolves, oppresses, torments," and on the strength of this arrangement of meanings he gives, as being etymologically connected a Greek word *árda* 'dirt', and the Celtic-Ligutian name of the Rhone (Rhodanas). Semantically the Greek comparison is hardly satisfactory even if the Sanskrit word were interpreted correctly, and river-names are naturaly uncertain elements in etymological comparison.

It will be useful to examine briefly the meaning of this Sanskrit root. The Dhātupāṭha gives *ard–* (class I) "to go" and "to ask", and (class X) "to injure" which is obviously very different from the information provided by the etymological dictionary.

By far the commonest form found in use is *ardáyati* (Xth class or causative), and its meaning is as given in the Dhātupāṭha. It has a general meaning "to hurt, injure, oppress", and also a more specific meaning "to wound (with a weapon)". This latter meaning is of very frequent occurrence in the *Mahābhārata*, in the many battle scenes, and it may be illustrated by a few examples.

7. 25. 15. *tam āpatantam mātaṅgam ambudapratimsvanam*
kumbhāntare Bhīmaseno nārācenārdayad bhṛśam
7. 44. 21. *sa gāḍhaviddhaḥ kruddhaś ca totrair gaja ivārditaḥ*
8. 40. 31.b (*enam*) *sāyakair daśabhī rājan bhruvor madhye samārdayat*
8. 42. 49. *Arjuno 'pi mahārāja Drauṇim vivyādha patribhiḥ*
tam Droṇaputraḥ saṁkruddho bāhvor urasi cārdayat
8. 17. 63. *Nakulam pañcabhir bāṇair jatrudeśe samārdayat*

The word remained familiar in later Sanskrit (though hardly used outside the past participle *ardita–*) in the general sense, but in the specific sense of 'to wound' it seems to have become unfamiliar. This probably accounts for the fact that the MSS widely present a version (*sam*) *ārpayat*. This is sometimes admitted into the text (6. 57. 18 *jatrudeśe samarpayat* ; 6, 106, 38 *bāhvor urasi cārpayat*), but the likelihood is that the copyists were merely removing an unfamiliar verbal form.

In the Vedic language this causative is used in the same sense, e.g. 10. 147. 2. *tvám māyā́bhir anavadya māyínam śravasyatā́ mánasā Vṛtram ardayaḥ* ("made to yield, overcome, crushed Vṛtra"). The root in this sense is found also in old Iranian in the Avestan noun *arədus̆-* 'injury, bodily harm, which Barthalomae correctly compares with Sanskrit *ardáyati*.

In all this there is nothing remotely connected with a meaning 'flow'. This meaning is given by BR in a small minority of cases, but an examination of the passages will show that no meaning radically different from the above is necessary. As far as the causative is concerned, this meaning is given for only one passage: 6. 17. 12 *tā́sām ánu pravát́a Indra pánthām prā́rdayo nī́cīr apásaḥ samudrám*. There is of course no reason to assume a meaning different from the usual one of *ardáyati*, i. e. Indra pressed, forced the waters down towards the ocean.

A sixth class stem (*ṛdáti*) from this root occurs twice in the *RV*.

4. 17. 2. *ṛghāyánta subhvàḥ párvatāsa ā́rdan dhánvāni saráyanta ā́paḥ.*
7. 104. 24. *vígrīvāso mūradevā ṛdantu*

There is no meaning 'to flow' here, since in the first instance the verb is used of the solid plains and not of the waters. What we have is the intransitive meaning corresponding to the trans.-caus. meaning of *ardáyati*, i. e. 'to yield to pressure, to give way, to collapse'.

The same intransitive meaning is found in the case *árdati* in the first class in *AV*. 12. 4. 3. *kūṭáyāsya sáṁ śīryante ślonayā kāṭám ardati* ("collapses into a pit"). In a few instances BR give the meaning flow for this *árdati*, but the contexts do not really demand it. For instance *Śat. Br.* 4.1. 1. 3 *so 'syāyam parāṅ eva prāṇo nirardati*. Compare the similar use of the causative in *AV*. 6. 65. 1 *Párāśara tvam téṣām párāñcam śúṣmam ardaya.* The causative means "force away, drive out (their vehemence)"; the corresponding intransitive in the Brāhmaṇa refers to the vital breath "yielding, giving way, departing from the body". This meaning is also evident in another passage (*Śat Br.* 4. 3. 4. 5) which is quoted in support of the rendering 'flow': *atrādhvaryuḥ ı caturgṛhītam ājyam gṛhītvāpo 'bhyavaiti, tad yā ūrmī vyardataḥ paśau vā puruṣe vābhyāvete tau gṛhṇāti ı sa yaḥ prāṅ udardati.........atha yaḥ pratyaṅ udardati.........*The verb is used to describe the water *being displaced* by the force of a body which enters it.

The meaning 'move' which appears in Dhātupāṭha, etc. is based on passages like this, but it is not precise enough. The

verb means 'to move' only when something that is subjected to pressure gives way, when it yields or moves on being pushed.

The present stem *ardati* is used in the classical language in the superficially very different meaning of "to ask, beg" : *Raghu.* V. 17. *nirgalitāmbugarbhaṁ śaradghanaṁ nārdati cātako 'pi* (= *yācate* Mall.). This is however merely a secondary development of meaning from 'plague, trouble, vex' to 'importune, trouble with requests (Kṣirasvāmin remarks : *arditaḥ khedita ity arthaḥ*). The only anomaly is that this stem which is normally used only in an intransitive sense, should in this meaning be used transitively,

With the meaning of √*ard-* cleared up it is possible to consider the question of its etymological connections. Attention has already been drawn to Av. *arədušˇ-* 'bodily injury'. Outside Indo-Aryan we may connect Gk. *árdis* 'point of an arrow' (compare the use of *ardáyati* in the sense of wounding with arrows in *MBh.*). On the further connection of Gk. *árdis* with Skt. *ali-* 'bee' (Prakritic < *aḷi-* < *ṛdi-*) see Mayerhofer S. V. Here also belongs old Norse *erta* 'prick, tease, etc. (Germ.* *artjan*) which corresponds formally to the Sanskrit causative *ardayati.*

An Indo-European* *ard-* 'flow' etc. was originally constituted on the basis of the comparison of Gk. *ārdō* 'water, irrigate' and Sanskrit *ārdrá-* 'wet' and it was on account of this that the sense 'flow, etc.' was attached to the root *ard-* , without adequate justification. Since then (WP. i, 48) a different explanation has been accepted for Gk. *ārdō* (<* *award-*). As regards Skt. *ārdrá-* an explanation from the root treated above is possible, if we assume that the original meaning of the adjective was not 'wet' (as opposed to 'dry') but 'liquid' (as opposed to solid). The characteristic of liquids as opposed to solids is that they yield, give way and are easily displaced, and these are the meanings which we have seen to be associated with the intransitive stems of the verb *ard-*. If this is so, and the reinterpretation of the Greek word is correct, then there remains no basis whatever for an IE* *ard-* (*erd-*) 'to flow, wetness'.

2. *Kaḍitra-*.

Kṣīrasvāmin (on *Dhātupāṭha* I. 383) records a word ***kaḍitram* = *lekhanacarm*** i. e 'a skin for writing on, leather for writing on.' The word is not quotable from any literary work, or, as far as I am aware, from any other source, but that is no reason for doubting that it is genuine. It seems that a series of words in the southern Dravidian languages may be connected with it. They are as follows : Ta, ***kaṭitam*** 'canvas on which paste is applied before writing, painting or drawing upon' ; paper ; letter' ; Ka. ***kaḍata, kaḍita*** ' book made of folded cloth which is covered with charcoal paste, on which accounts and memorandums are written with

balapa ; Tu. *kaḍata* 'a cloth covered with a composition of charcoal and gum, and used instead of a slate for writing ; the skin ; Te. *kaḍitdmu* 'an account book covered with a black paste and polished like a slate, written on with a kind of soft stone or soapstone'. The difference of material is no obstacle to the identity of the words in view of the identity of function, This set of words is modern in Dravidian, and certainly not derived from any primitive Dravidian root. One would naturally be inclined to regard the Dravidian word to be borrowed from the Sanskrit if that were more widely attested. It is possible that the term is derived, through some intermediary, from the Greek *khártēs*.

3. *Kuḍaka-* 'child'.

The constituted text of the *Mahābhārata* 6. 3.7-8 reads as follows :

striyaḥ kāścit prajāyante catasraḥ pañca kanyakāḥ
tā jātamātrā nṛtyanti gāyanti ca hasanti ca
pṛthagjanasya kuḍakāḥ stanapāḥ stenaveśmani
nṛtyanti parigāyanti vedayanto mahad bhayam

The second verse obviously creates considerable difficulty. The reading *kuḍaka-* is based on the Kashmiri tradition and as will be seen from the critical notes, a bewildering number of variants is found in the other manuscripts Dr. Belvalkar in his note suggests that *kuḍaka-* is equivalent to either (1) *kuḍikā* 'small water-jugs' or (2) *kuḍava-* (*kuḍapa-*) 'a measure'. The first word, which is quoted from Wilson's dictionary and nowhere else, is connected with *kuṭa-* 'pot', also a lexical word, which is from Dravidian (Te. *kuṭam* 'pot'), but there is no evidence that any form like this was current in Sanskrit in the early period. As regards *kuḍava-* we should note that it is an ordinary Sanskrit word, quite current in the *MBh* as in other classical literature, and there is no evidence to justify that such a variant could have existed.

The explanation of *kuḍaka-* can be found in another source. In the Kharoṣṭhi documents, written in the North-Western Prakrit, and discovered in Central Asia, there occurs very frequently a word *kuḍaya-* 'boy, (male) child', (fem. *kuḍi*). The assumption that this word is used here not only makes good sense here, but it is demanded by the context, both by the following adjective *stanapāḥ*, and by the fact that the previous *śloka* refers to girl babies dancing and singing. It should be noted that in a number of MSS the easier synonym *tanayāḥ* has been substituted. So I would translate the verse (reading also *tava veśmani* instead of *stenaveśmani*) "the babies at the breast of the common people (i. e. the servants) in thy house are dancing and singing, indicating a great danger."

This word is known from modern Indo-Aryan (e. g. Panj. *kuṛi* 'girl') and it is probably of Dravidian origin (*BSOAS* xi, 135). At a much later period we find it adopted into Jain Sanskrit in the form *Kuṭikā* 'girl, daughter' e. g. *Bṛhat-kathā-kośa* 30. 8-9. The antiquity of the word in North-West India is attested by its occurring in the Kharṣṭhī documents, so there is no chronological difficulty in finding it in the *Mahābhārata*. Of course as a general rule the *Mahābhārata* avoids dialect and vernacular words, so the word is not a normal part of the epic's vocabulary. It can be accounted for here by the subject matter of the section, which describes the series of portents which preceded the great battle. On this subject there existed various treatises of a popular nature which were drawn on by the author of the present section, and we may account for the presence of this vernacular word on the assumption that along with the subject matter it originates in some such popular treatise.

4. *Nāyara*– 'anchor'

Seafaring is a subject that figures very little in Sanskrit literature. Consequently it is interesting that the romance *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, which contains a fairly extensive description of a sea-voyage, should contain a word for anchor which is not otherwise recorded for Sanskrit, namely *nāyara*– , p. 114, p. 119 etc. The form corresponds exactly to the modern Marathi *nāṅgar* 'anchor', and the word is thus attested as being current in Western India in the tenth century A. D. In Marathi the word has become homonymous with the word for 'plough' (*nāngar*, *nāṅgar*), but it is of a quite different origin. As pointed out in *BSOAS* xi, 614 the most original form of this word in India is Te. *naṅkūram*, and it is a loan word from Gk. *áṅkūra* with an intensive *n*– of a type known elsewhere in Dravidian.

5. *Palitopama*–

In the Jain canon there occurs a term *paliovama*–, which means a certain very long period of time. It is explained as "the period measured by the time in which a vast well, one hundred *yojanas* every way, filled with minute bits of hair so closely packed that a river might be hurried over them without penetrating the interstices, could be emptied at the rate of one hair in a century". The Jain authors later rendered this word into Sanskrit as *palyopama*– which is not a real Sanskrit word but a mechanical transcription of the Prakrit. When the Jains took to writing Sanskrit, the corresponding Sanskrit word was no longer familiar, but it had been current earlier, and it has now turned up in the old medical text *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* edited by the late Pandit Hemaraj Sharma (p. 44 *tasya palitopamārdham āyur utkṛṣṭam āhur*........... *palitopama-caturbhāgam āyur utkṛṣṭam*......) The first member of this

compound is *palita* 'gray hair'. The usual account mentions hairs in connection with the *upamā* which describes this vast period of time, but not gray hairs. Probably the original *upamā* ran somewhat differently and the alteration is connected with the fact that the correct etymological analysis of the Prakrit word was no longer understood.

6. *Práṣṭi–*

The meaning of this Vedic word is well enough known. It is "a horse harnessed by the side of other yoke-horses, or in front of them, a side-horse, a leader". The difficulty has been caused by its etymological analysis, and none of the suggestions put forward so far can be said to be satisfactory (connected with *pṛṣṭi–* 'rib' BR ; *pra + (a)s + ti* M. W. etc.; if so, why not *pra-s-ti* ; cf Slav. *plęsati* 'dance', Wack.– Debr.)

A better etymology can be provided by the Indo-Iranian root treated by H. W. Bailey in *TPS* 1953 pp. 21 ff, namely *praks–* : *pṛkṣ* "to invigorate, strengthen reinforce" which in Iranian appears in the stem *fraša–*. Here *kṣ* contains the palatal *k* and the *sandhi* of the group with following *t* therefore produces *ṣṭ* (e. g. *tāṣṭi* : √ *takṣ–* etc.). So from *pṛkṣ–* we have the past participle *pṛṣṭá–* e. g. *RV*. 7. 5. 2 *pṛṣṭó divi dhāyi agnih pṛthivyām* strengthened, (invigorated) in heaven Agni was placed on the earth ; e. g. 1. 98. 2, 3. 49, 4, *VS*. 38, 92. The *guṇa* form of this root (*prakṣ–*) followed by the suffix *ti* would produce *praṣṭi–* and the meaning would be "strengthening, reinforcement", or, since the stems in *–ti* may also in the Veda appear as agent nouns, "reinforcers". Since the purpose of the extra horse which is added to the normal two is to be a reinforcement to them when necessary, the stem *práṣṭi–* from *prakṣ–* provides exactly the right meaning, as well as being phonetically completely in order.

7. *Bukkā–* fragrant powder

Kṣīrasvāmin (on DhP. 1, 122) quotes a word *bukkā=sugandha-dravyapiṣṭam*, which is not elsewhere recorded in Sanskrit. This word belongs to a family which is widespread in modern Indo-Aryan : Hi. *būkā* 'powder', Panj. *bukkā* 'dust' etc. ; see Turner, *Nep. Dict* s. v. *buko*.

In Prakrit a stem *bukka–* powder occurs in a passage which has not been properly understood. It occurs in the story of Sanaṁkumāra in Jacabi's *Ausgewählete Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī* p. 21. The story relates how the prince was carried away by his horse, and how on the second day the horse stopped from exhaustion and, in spite of the prince's efforts to alleviate its condition by loosening the straps and taking off the saddle, finally dropped down dead. The text then continues : *taṁ bukkapesaṇam*

mottūna gao kumāro. The proverbial expression in Sanskrit for useless, futile, or unnecessary activity is *piṣṭapeṣaṇa–*, lit. 'pounding what is pounded'. The Prakrit writer has here substituted a vernacular *bukka–* for *piṣṭa–*. The compound *bukkapesaṇa–* is used in exactly the sense of the common Sanskrit *piṣṭapeṣaṇa.* The point of the sentence is that, when the prince realised that his efforts to revive the horse were futile, he gave up and left it.

8. *Vārdhrīṇasa–*

The constituted text of *MBh.* 8. 46. 17 reads in the critical edition :

tasya dveṣeṇa saṃyuktaḥ paridahye dhanañjaya
ātmaṇo maraṇaṃ jānan vādhrīṇasa iva dvipaḥ

Commenting on this Dr. P. L. Vaidya explains the phrase *vārdhrīṇasa iva dvipaḥ* as "an elephant whose trunk is cut off", and he analyses the compound as containing *vadhri–* or *vādhri–* and *nāsā* (*nas–*). This is impossible because *vadhri–*, a Vedic word, means only 'castrated, a castrated animal', and *vādhri–*, except in the *vṛiddhied* patronymic Vādhryaśva– 'son of Vadhryaśva' does not exist. Furthermore a word *vādhrīṇasa–/vārdhrīṇasa–*occurs elsewhere in a variety of places in Sanskrit literature, and we must obviously assume that it means the same thing here as it does in other places. Now elsewhere it is quite clear that the word is a noun and that it denotes an animal or bird which was eaten. For instance it appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (5. 11. 16) in a list of savoury meats (mentioned along with chicken, pork and peacocks), and in texts dealing with the Śrāddha ritual it is mentioned among the various kinds of flesh which are to be taken : Manu, iii, 271, Yājñ. i, 260. From a survey of the commentaries on these various passages it is clear that the commentators were not quite clear what the *vārdhrīṇasa–* really was. They give three explanations :

(1) Rhinoceros; this meaning figures also in the lexica Halāyudha etc.

(2) A bird ; it is said to have a black neck a red head and white wings.

(3) An old white goat, concerning which the following verse is quoted :

tripibaṃ tvindriyakṣīṇaṃ vṛddhaṃ śvetaṃ ajāpatim
vārdhrīṇasaṃ tu taṁ prāhur yājñikāḥ śrāddhakarmaṇi

The *vārdhrīṇasa–* mentioned in the Śrāddha ritual can originally only have had one specific meaning, and the variety of the explanations offered must be due to the word having become obsolete.

There is sufficient evidence to show that the original and proper meaning of the term *vārdhrīṇasa–* was a species of bird. In the first place it is possible to quote from some old texts where the word quite clearly refers to a bird. In *Vāyupurāṇa* 69, 336 *vārdhrīṇasa–* is mentioned among a list of birds which leaves no doubt about the matter. It is mentioned in the same way in *Kāśyapa-Saṁhitā* (p. 335), which adds the further information that it is a water bird (*vārdhrīṇasaḥ sārasaś ca sāraṅgo......etc. cānye cāmbucarāḥ pakṣiṇo guravaḥ smṛtāḥ*).

From such texts it is clear that only this one meaning, among those offered by the commentators, can be the correct one. It may be also added that the Smṛti texts themselves support this, since the flesh of the rhinoceros (*khaḍga–*) and the goat (*chāga–*) are mentioned as different meats in the same context. Confirmatory evidence is found in the *Pratimānāṭaka* ascribed to Bhāsa where (Act IV) Rāvaṇa, disguised as a wandering ascetic, professes to be an authority on how the Śrāddha should be performed. Here occurs the following passage: *virūḍheṣu darbhāḥ, oṣadhīṣu tilāḥ, kalāyaṃ śākeṣu, matsyeṣu mahāśapharaḥ, pakṣiṣu vārdhrāṇasaḥ, paśuṣu gauḥ khaḍgo vā.* Here the *vārdhrāṇasa* (*vādhrīṇasa–*) is distinctly stated to be a bird in a passage dealing with the Śrāddha ritual, and as elsewhere the rhinoceros is separately mentioned.

All this evidence taken together indicates that only this one meaning can be justifiably applied to the word *vārdhrīṇasa–*, and in the *MBh* passage the same meaning must be assumed. As can be seen from the critical notes, a large number of the manuscripts read *dvijaḥ* in place of *dvipaḥ* of the printed text. Since this is the only reading which makes any sense (*vādhrīṇasa iva dvijaḥ* "like the Vādhrīṇasa bird") its correctness is beyond doubt.

The same word occurs in the Vedic literature either in the form *vārdhrāṇasa* (*T. S.* v. s. 20. 1 ; *M. S.* iii, 14. 20) or in the form *vārdhrīṇasa* (*VS.* 24. 39). The meaning 'rhinoceros' has been usually adopted for these passages (e g. *Vedic Index* s.v., Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* p. 86), but since in *V.S.* 24 the rhinoceros (*khaḍga*) is mentioned as a separate animal, there is no doubt that here as elsewhere a species of bird is meant.

The word appears in various forms *vārdhrīṇasa–*, *vārdhīṇasa–*, *vārdhrāṇasa–*, *vārdhīṇasa–*, *vādhrīṇasa–*, which all appear to be textual variants of an original *vārdhīṇasa–*. The etymology causes some difficulty because the only Sanskrit word *vārdhrī* known means 'a leather thong', and it is difficult to see how this meaning applies in the present instance. Possibly the root *vṛdh–*, grow, increase' is involved here and the reference is to some bird with a very large bill.

In Pali there occurs (*S*. 1. 148 ; *J*. 6. 538) a bird name *vyagghīnasa-* (v. l. *vyagghinisa-*). This is obviously the same word, but it has been altered by popular etymology (as if containing *vyāghra-* as first member). In this connection it is interesting to note that in *MBh*. 8. 46. 17 a variant reading *vyāghreṇasa-* is quoted showing a tendency to corrupt the word in the same way as has been done in Pali.

VEDIC *AKHKHALA*: PĀLI *AKKULA*

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The vocable *akhkhala* is taken from the expression *akhkhalī-kṛtya* which is known to occur only once in the Sanskrit literature. It is found in the third verse of the famous frog-hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (VII. 103). It runs as—

yád īm enā̆ uśató abhyávarṣīt tṛṣyā̆vatah
prāvṛ́ṣy ā̆gatāyām |
akhkhalīkṛ́tyā pitáraṁ ná putró anyo anyám
úpa vádantam eti ||

G e l d n e r translates—"Sobald es auf die Gierigen, Durstigen bei Eintritt der Regenzeit geregnet hat, kommt unter lautem Quaken einer auf den Zuruf des anderen zu wie der Sohn zum Vater."

Sāyaṇa explains the expression as *akhkhala iti śabdānukaraṇam | akhkhalaśabdaṁ kṛtvā*. The dictionary meaning is the same—'den Freuderuf *akhkhala* ausstossen' (B o e h t l i n g k-R o t h, also G r a s s m a n n), 'uttering the exclamation *akhkhala*' (M o n i e r-W i l l i a m s). It is thus clear that the expression is an onomatopoetic one referring to the sound of joy made by the frogs. It seems, however, possible to throw some more light on the meaning of the word by suggesting the sound intended to be conveyed by *akhkhala*.

In the frog-hymn two kinds of frogs—from the point of view of the sounds uttered by them and their colour—are referred to. They are *gómāyu* 'uttering sounds similar to that of a cow' and *ajámāyu* 'uttering sounds similar to that of a goat,' or *pṛ́śni* 'the speckled one' and *hárita* 'the green one' (cf. verses 6, 10, also 4). It would, therefore, be interesting to see if the sound referred to by *akhkhala* can be more closely determined in the light of these descriptions.

In the Udāna[1] I. 7 (p. 5) we come across the expression *akkulapakkula* (or a derivative from it *akkulapakkulika*). In this account we are told that a certain Yakṣa, Ajakalāpaka by name, wanted to terrify the Buddha who was sitting in his *cetiya*. He

1. Ed. by Paul S t e i n t h a l, London, 1885.

therefore made a sound *akkulapakkula* thrice.[1] On this peculiar expression R. Morris[2] remarks, "Akkulo pakkulo are merely instances of an interjectional use of the words (*ākula vyākula,*) something like the employment of "death and destruction", "fire and fury", to convey the notion of something fearful, in lieu of imitative words." The PTS Dictionary also equates *akkula* with *ākula* and gives the meaning 'confused, perplexed, agitated, frightened.' The same dictionary derives *pakkula* or *pākula* from *pa* (i.e. *pra*)+*ākula* 'in great confusion.' But the correct meaning of the word has been already given in the commentary as an onomatopoetic sound uttered by the Yakṣa to terrify the Buddha. Cf. *tāyo vāre "akkulo pakkulo" ti bhiṁsāpetukāmatāya evarūpaṁ saddaṁ akāsi. Anukaraṇasaddo hi ayaṁ.*[3] This has been accepted in V. Trenckner's *A Critical Pāli Ditionary* Vol. I, which says, "probably a shout to one in order to terrify." It seems that in the compound expression *akkulapakkula* (or *-bakkula*), the latter half is just an extension of the base *akkula* in reduplication. Though the base has been rightly explained by the commentator as an onomatopoetic word, he has not guessed whose sound the Yakṣa may have tried to imitate by an utterance like *akkula.*

A solution to this problem is, I think, contained in the name of the Yaksa, viz. Ajakalāpaka. The commentary referred to above contains (p. 64) two explanations of this name, both of which seem to be fanciful. According to the explanation of the commentator the Yaksa was so called because he liked the goats brought to him for offering bound in a bundle (*aja-kalāpaka*). Cf. *so kira yakkho aje kalāpe katvā bandhanena aja-kotthāsena saddhiṁ baliṁ paticchati no aññathā.* According to the other explanation offered by some others the Yaksa was so called because he compelled the people who brought him offerings utter cries like a goat (*ajaka-lāpaka*). Cf. *keci pana "ajake viya satte lāpetī" ti Ajaka-lāpako ti. Tassa kira sattā baliṁ upanetvā yadā aja-saddaṁ katvā baliṁ upaharanti tadā so tussati. Tasmā Ajaka-lāpako ti vuccatī ti.*

But on the basis of the story itself the correct explanation appears to be that the Yakṣa was given the name Ajaka-lāpaka[4] because he himself used to produce sounds similar to those of a goat in order to frighten the people. The second explanation referred to above has missed the point because in it *lāpaka* has been unnecessarily treated as derived from the causal base. But the

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1. *atha kho Ajakalāpako yakkho bhagavato bhayaṁ.... uppādetukāmo* (sic.) .....*bhagavato avidūre tikkhattuṁ akkulopakkulo ti akkulapakkulikaṁ akāsi.*

2. *JPTS* 1886 pp. 94-95.

3. Paramatthadipanī Udānaatthakathā of Dhammapālacariya, Ed. by F.L. Woodward, London, 1926, p. 66.

4. Another Yakṣa has the name Ajakālaka in one Bharhut inscription (Lüders' list No. 795). But this has a different explanation.

vṛddhi of the penultimate *a* of the root has been taught by Pāṇini in the formation of the agent nouns with the suffix *-aka* (cf. 3. 1. 33 and 7. 2. 116). It will thus be clear that Ajakalāpaka means 'one who utters sounds like a goat' and that the sound *akkula* attributed to the Yakṣa in order to frighten the Buddha is an attempt on the part of the author to figure out the imitation of the bleating of the goat.[1]

If this Pāli *akkula* 'bleating of a goat' is connected with Vedic *akhkhala*, then the latter may also be regarded to represent the cry of that frog,[2] which is supposed to utter cries similar to those of a goat (*ajámāyu*). The loss of aspiration in *akkula* is witnessed in many other instances in Pāli (G e i g e r 62, *ṛkṣa>ikka*, etc.). Moreover it may also be noted that for *akkula* a variant *akkhula*[3] with aspiration has been recorded. As regards the difference in the vowel in the second syllable (*a*: *u*),[4] it is likely that the change occurred as *akkula* and was confused with *ākula*. Above all it must be remembered that such minor changes are very likely in onomatopoetic expressions.

The return to the frog-hymn once again. *Gómāyu* and *ajámāyu* varieties of the frog on the one hand and *pṛśnī* and *hárita* varieties on the other are referred to in verses 6 and 10 and in both cases exactly in the same order. This suggests that the speckled variety produced a sound similar to that of a cow and the green one produced a sound similar to that of a goat. From the meaning of *akhkhala* suggested above, this seems to be confirmed by verses 3 and 4. In verse 3 we are told that when the rain-water falls, the one frog approaches the other producing the sound *akhakhla*. If, as suggested above, the frog producing this sound is *ajámāyu*, then it would mean that in verse 3 we read

6 In a stanza which occurs in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (Nirṇaya-sāgara edn. 1952, p. 207, verse 18) the goat's cries are represented as *bobokārān prakurvan*.

7. In the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 12.4.16, the crying of a frog is referred to as *āṭ karoti*. Otherwise in the Veda, the verb used is *vad* with or without a prefix like *ā*, *pra*, *ud*. Cf. *RV*. 7.103.1, 3 etc., 10.166.5 ; *AV*. 4.15.12,14). In Vāgbhaṭa's commentary to his *Kāvyānuśāsana* (ch. 2, p. 24, Kāvyamālā 43) where certain sounds of animals and objects are mentioned, it is said *ravo maṇḍūkeṣu*. In modern Indian languages also there are different expressions referring to the cries of a frog : As. *toṛtorowa*, Bg. *gengorgengor*, Hindi-Urdu *ṭarṭar* (Dakhani form as given in J. S h a k e s p e a r e's Hindustani—English Dictionary is *turmturm*), Pjb. *ṭeṃ ṭem* or *ṭreṃ ṭreṃ* Mar. Guj. *ḍarāv ḍarāv*, Kan. *vaṭavaṭa*, Tam. *vrāṭ vrāṭ*, Tel. *bekabeka*.

8. *akkhulo bhakkhulo* is noted in *JPTS*- 1886, p. 99 (explained as *akkhetuṁ khepetuṁ vināsetuṁ ulati pavattatīti akkuls, bhakkhituṁ ulatīti bhakkhulo......*). The variants noted in the text of the Udāna are (p. 5, f. n. 1) *akkulobakkulo*, *akkulavakkulikaṁ*. The Gāthā 7 referring to this incident has *bakkulaṁ*. In the PTS Dictionary we are asked to read *pākula* both for *pakkula* and *bakkula*.

9. The text as given by R. M o r r i s (*JPTS* 1886, p. 94) shows the reading with *a* in *pakkalo* (line 3) ; but he remarks that we should read *pakkulo* (line 9).

about *ajámāyu* approaching the *gómāyu*, or presumably the green one approaching the speckled one with a sound of joy. The following verse (4) tells us that now, of the two, the one supports the other in the utterance of cries, and from the context it would seem that now it is the turn of the speckled one to support the green one with its utterance of joy. This is happily confirmed by the second half of the verse which expressly tells us—

"*maṇḍūko yád abhívṛṣṭaḥ kániṣkan pṛ́śniḥ*
saṁpṛṅkté háritena vā́cam|"......"wenn der Frosch im Regen hin und her hüpft, und der Gefleckte seine Stimme mit dem Grünen vereinigt." (G e l d n e r).

A NOTE ON TAITTIRĪYA-SAṀHITĀ 5. 2. 8. 5. AND ŚATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA 7. 5. 1. 1.

BY

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The Agnicayana, i. e. the building of the fire-altar, is one of the most elaborate ceremonies of the Vedic ritual. Among the rites prescribed for that ceremony, we see that a tortoise should be immured alive in the altar. This strange rite is already prescribed in the *T.S.* and in the *Śat.-Br.* The text of the *T.S.* in which reasons are given for this sacrificial procedure is as follows: "*Medho vā eṣa paśūnāṁ yat kūrmo; yat kūrmam upadadhāti svam eva medhaṁ paśyantaḥ paśava upatiṣṭhante.*" This text has been translated by Keith in the following way: "The tortoise is the intelligence of animals; in that he (i.e. the priest acting for the Sacrificer) puts down the tortoise, animals resort there, seeing their own intelligence." This translation is obviously erroneous. *Medha* does not mean "intelligence"; *medha* means "sap", "life-sap". Keith was probably induced to translate *medha* by "intelligence" (as if we had *medhā*) because in the preceding line it is said that "just as one who knows a place leads straight to it, so the tortoise leads him (i.e. the Sacrificer) straight to the world of heaven."

I should translate: "The tortoise is the life-sap of the domestic animals; when he (i.e. the priest acting for the Sacrificer) puts down the tortoise, the domestic animals, seeing their own life-sap, approach it with reverence (or worship it)."

There is a parallel passage in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.* This parallel passage (7.5,1.1.) runs as follows: "*Kūrmam upadadhāti; raso vai kūrmo; rasam evai 'tad upadadhāti; yo vai sa eṣāṁ lokānām apsu praviddhānāṁ parān raso 'tyakṣarat, sa eṣa kūrmas, tam evai 'tad upadadhāti. ...sa eṣa ima eva lokāḥ.*" Here, instead of "*medha*", we have the word "*rasa*", which also means "juice" "sap", "life-sap". I should translate: "He (i.e. the Adhvaryu, acting for the Sacrificer,) puts down a tortoise. The tortoise is life-sap. It is life-sap indeed that he puts down (on the fire-altar) (or bestows on Agni). This tortoise is indeed that life-sap of these worlds that flowed away from them (i. e. from these worlds) when they were plunged into the waters. It is that (life-sap) that he now puts down (on the fire-altar) (or bestows on Agni)....That tortoise thus is these worlds."

Why is the tortoise called the life-sap of animals? Why is it called the life-sap of these worlds? And why has it been selected for the rite out of all animals? I do not think that this is to be explained (as it has been suggested) by the fact that the tortoise is an animal of great vitality. I think that it is to be explained by a cosmogonic legend, and we find allusions to that legend in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*.

We read in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (6.1.1.7 and 6.1.1.10-11): "He (i.e Prajāpati) created the waters out of Vāc...... He created the waters with the triple science. Thence an egg arose. From it the Brahman was created, the triple science. That which was the shell became the earth." And then (*Śāt.-Br.* 6.1.1.12): "*so 'kāmayata, ābhyo 'dbhyo 'dhī 'māṁ prajanayeyam iti tāṁ saṁkliśyā 'psu prāvidhyat, tasyai yaḥ parān raso 'tyakṣarat sa kūrmo 'bhavad, atha yad ūrdhvam udaukṣyate 'daṁ tad yad idam ūrdhvam adbhyo 'dhi jayate. se 'yam sarvā 'pa evā 'nuvyait; tad idam ekam eva rūpaṁ samadṛśyatā 'pa eva.*" "He (Prajāpati) desired: 'May I generate this earth from the waters!' Having compressed this (i.e. the earth) (i.e the earth that was in an embryonic form, or in the form of the egg-shell), he threw it (i.e he threw the earth) into the waters. The juice (the life-sap) which flowed from it became a tortoise; and that which was spurted upwards became what is produced above here over the waters. This whole (earth) dissolved itself all over the waters; all this (universe) appeared as one form only, namely waters.'

This last passage clearly shows why the tortoise was called the *rasa* (the juice, the life-sap) of the earth. In *Śat. Br.* 7.5.1.1, it is called the *rasa* of these worlds (*eṣāṁ lokānām*); and *eṣāṁ lokānām* may be considered here as the equivalent of *asyāḥ pṛthivyāḥ* (of this earth). But in *TS*. 5.2.8.5. it is the *medha* (the life-sap) of the domestic animals (*paśūnām*). This may be explained by the fact that the *paśavaḥ* (the domestic animals) were considered as a symbol of this world, i.e of the earth. For instance, in *Śat.-Br.* 13.2.4.1, it is said: "*yad grāmyān paśūn ālabhata imam eva tair lokaṁ yajamāno 'varundhe, yad āraṇyān amuṁ taiḥ.*" "When he seizes domestic animals, the Yajamāna (the Sacrificer) thereby takes possession of this world, and when he seizes wild animals, he thereby takes possession of yonder world."

In *Śat.-Br.* 6.1.1.12, the reason why the juice or life-sap which flowed from the earth, became a tortoise, and not any other animal, is not clear. But this may be explained by the influence of another myth, according to which the tortoise is considered as a symbol of the three worlds. In *Śat.-Br.* 7.5.1.2, it is said: "*tasya yad adharam kapālam, ayaṁ sa lokas, tat pratiṣṭhitam iva bhavati, pratiṣṭhita iva hy ayaṁ loko, 'tha yad uttaraṁ sā dyaus, tad vyavagṛhītāntaṁ bhavati, vyavagṛhītānte 'va hi dyaur, atha yad antarā*

tad antarikṣaṁ, sa eṣa ima eva lokā imān evai 'tal lokān upadadhāti". "That which is the lower shell of it (i.e. of the tortoise) is this (terrestrial) world; it is, as it were, fixed, for fixed, as it were, is this (terrestrial) world. And that which is the upper shell of it, is yonder sky; it has its ends, as it were, bent down, for yonder sky has its ends, as it were, bent down. And what is between (the shells) is the atmosphere. That (tortoise) thus is these worlds; it is these worlds he thus lays down (for the building of the fire-altar)."

In my opinion, the succession of ideas that led to the choice of the tortoise for the performance of the rite prescribed in the Agnicayana, and to the expressions "life-sap of these worlds," and "life-sap of the domestic animals", whereby the tortoise is designated on that occasion, was the following:

1. The tortoise was chosen as a symbol of the three worlds (i.e. the earth, the sky, and the atmosphere) because of its shape.

2. It was considered as a symbol of these worlds (*eṣāṁ lokānām*) (i.e. of the earth).

3. It was considered as the juice or life-sap of the earth, because, when Prajāpati compressed the earth and threw it into the waters, the juice that flowed from it became a tortoise.

4. It was considered as the life-sap of the domestic animals, because it is itself an animal, and because the domestic animals were considered as representing the earth.

In a note on the rite that prescribes the immuring of a live tortoise in the fire-altar, Keith has written: "This practice may clearly be connected with the recorded discovery of toads living in rocks, etc." I do not believe it.

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF "FOUR UNPUBLISHED UPANIṢADIC TEXTS"

By

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When Deussen published the second edition of his *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda* half a century ago (1905), he was not yet able to make use of the Sanskrit original of four Upaniṣads: Bāṣkala, Chāgaleya, Arṣeya and Śaunaka. A few years later F. O. Schrader reported on a manuscript containing among others these four Upaniṣads. At the same time he put the entire text of the Bāṣkala at our disposal by editing the Bāṣkalamantropaniṣadvrtti (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Skt. MSS. in the Adyar Library*, Vol. I, Madras 1908, pp. 307—315). It was, however, not until 1925 that the full Skt. texts of the remaining three Upaniṣads became available to us owing to Prof. Belvalkar's meritorious paper: Four unpublished Upaniṣadic texts tentatively edited and translated for the first time (reprinted from the Report of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras 1925).

The textual condition of these Upaniṣads transmitted by one MS. (besides the *vrtti* for the Bāṣk.) was quite deplorable and Prof. Belvalkar was necessarily obliged to make a number of conjectural emendations. In his chronological grouping of Upaniṣadic texts, however, he was inclined to concede their respective places at least, to the Bāṣk. and the Chāg. (cf. Belvalkar and Ranade: *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 2, 1927, esp. p. 135).

Finding it rather strange that the linguistic peculiarities of these interesting texts did not draw the attention of my colleagues for a long time, I have already tried to point out the pseudo-Vedic character of the language of the *Chāg.* (*Commemor. Volume dedicated to Prof. H. Ui*, Tokyo 1951, pp. 311—329), and of the *Bāṣk.* (*Commemor. Volume dedicated to Prof. Sh. Miyamoto*, Tokyo 1954, pp. 3 17). The latter study had at least the merit of inducing Prof. L. Renou to contribute an excellent paper: Remarques linguistiques sur la Bāṣkalamantra-Upaniṣad to the *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. III (Tokyo 1955), pp. 774—782, in which he delineated quite clearly the true linguistic nature of the *Bāṣk.* :"c'est une sorte de "Vedic Hybrid", oeuvre d'un auteur tardif au courant de certains "trucs" propres à donner l'illusion de la langue ancienne, mais n'en ayant aucune familiarité réelle" (p. 8 of the reprint). It would not be out of place if I ex-

tend my study to the remaining Upaniṣads, *Arṣeya* and *Śaunaka* in the present paper written in honour of the great scholar who first enabled us to investigate these texts.

Dealing with these texts we are confronted with the problem whether erroneous or dubious forms originate from the authors themselves or from careless scribes. In entirely corrupt passages conjectures, if possible, may be justified, but in other cases it is quite doubtful whether it is legitimate to amend the texts, even though we are often tempted to do so. A queer mixture of old and new is characteristic of these texts. Archaic forms and "supervedisms" are embedded in a context, which betrays its lateness in other points. Prof. Renou is quite right when he remarks: "La BMU. demeure à mi-chemin entre l'effort d'imitation et l'effort d'innovation : les forces ont manqué à l'auteur pour choisir résolument sa voie" (*op. cit.* p. 8), and when he puts it on the same level as the Aśvin-hymn of the *Mahābhārata* on which he has fully commented in the *F.W. Thomas Volume* 1939, p. 177—187. The same remark can be applied to the metre of the Bāṣk. Through my analysis (Tsuji, *BMU*. pp. 11—15) I have arrived at the conclusion that the metrical structure of the *Bāṣk.* is more archaic in some points than that of the *Śvet. Up.* (Hauschild) or of the *Muṇḍ. Up.* (Hertel); but the prevailing disorder in other points reveals its lateness.

The degree of "Vedicity" differs from one text to another. The *Bāṣk.* consists of twenty-five pseudo-Ṛgvedic stanzas, the other three, essentially in prose, are composed in a sort of the Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣadic style. The *Chāg.*, which is certainly the most precious among the prose texts, is not only interesting for its frame-story and the famous metaphor of the chariot, but also from the grammatical and lexical points of view. Referring the readers to my previous paper for the details, I confine myself here to the following remarks. Vedic are the *tmesis* (ll. 15, 24-25, 41) and *panthām* acc. (1 46). An example of 'supervedism' is supplied by an optative from the perfect stem: *rurucīta* (1.54). A strange predilection for forms in *-dhvai* for *-dhve* : *ādhvai* and *adhīdhvai* (1 3), *dīkṣadhvai* (1.5), even as imperative: *saṁpaśyadhvai* (1.16); but °*dhvam* 1.37), *upādhvai* (1.18), are likely to inspire us with distrust in the author's familiarity with the Vedic grammar. The co-existence of *-e* and *-ai* in certain middle endings of the subjunctive must have led the author to the use of *-dhvai* as the 2. pl. indicative. If the textual tradition is trustworthy, the injunctive forms: *āskandan* and *jighatsan* (1.56) are met with just after six indicatives, though the change into °*anti* might be near at hand. The comparative lateness of the text is further revealed by the promiscuous use of three preterite tenses throughout it, the narrative aorist being employed seven times (once without augment: *upasthiṣata* (1.58)

alongside of the imperfect and perfect. The metaphor of the chariot does not prove the priority of the *Chāg.* to the *Kāṭhaka* (cf. Rawson : *The Katha Up.* p. 219) and an elaborate description of the running horse and carriage (l. 38 ff.) is rather a sign of the later age.

Now turning to the *Ārṣeya* we must first distinguish between the main part in prose and the concluding verses (ll. 62—66). While the former resembles the *Chāg.* in many points, the latter (marked with vs. in the following) are on par with the *Bāṣk.* as M. Renou (*BMU.* p 9) has rightly observed.

As for the *saṁdhi* there is nothing to report except *sarvaiva* (l. 21) for *sarva eva* ; in *te vābhi*[2] (l. 67) one can assume *vā* in the sense of *vai.*

Though commonplace, the neut. pl. in *-ā* is attested by *sarvā bhūtāni* (l. 41) and *bhuvanāni viśvā* (l. 62 vs.) as in the *Bāṣk.* (Tsuji p. 6, cf. Renou p. 3) ; for the *Śaun.* see below. The nom. pl. fem. in *-īḥ* is found in *visphurantīḥ* and *lelāyantīḥ* (l. 46, from *lelāyati* 'moves to and fro', cf. Renou, *Gr. sansc.* p. 482) More archaic is the nom. pl. masc. in *-āsaḥ*, which is used in a verse (l. 63) dressed entirely after the Ṛgvedic fashion : *yam aśnuvan na Kuśikāso agniṁ vaiśvānaram ṛtajātaṁ yamadhyai* (read so instead of °*dhyayī*). 'Agni Vaiśvānara, born of the *ṛta*, whom the sons of Kuśika will not be able to attain'. *Na* is not 'explétif' (Renou, *BMU.* p. 9). The negative particle is, in my opinion, quite important, as otherwise the point will be lost. In this Up. Viśvāmitra represents the lowest and Vasiṣṭha the highest stage of secret knowledge. Does not the legendary rivalry between them glimmer in the text ?

The genus verborum does not correspond to the recognized standard, e. g. *śaknuvate* (l. 8) 3. pl. mid ! Augmentless is *upadhārayaḥ* (l. 11) 2. sg. impf., but *pareti* (l. 54) must be a scribal mistake for *paraiti*, so is also *mene* (l. 36) for *anumene* (cf. l. 9, 21, 49). I do not know what to make of *ulyaranti* (l. 33). The subjunctive still survives in *aśnavat* (l. 3), *aśnavan* (l, 63 vs.) and *upahvayāma* (l. 64 vs.). *Padyat* (l. 14) might be an injunctive but is quite suspectable on account of its active ending ; see below. *Atīyīmahi* (l. 8) cannot be correct but is perhaps an optative belonging to *atīyate* (intens.) assimilated to *īśīmahi* which stands just before it. A rare example of the aor. opt. is afforded by *dhākṣīran* (l. 48) : *adhākṣīt*, *dah* 'to burn'. The ending is remarkable in *atha* (read so for *apa*, cf. l. 55) *ye saṁvidrate* (l. 51), cf. Renou, *Gr. sansc.* p. 419.

Some participles are worth noting. Vedic is *juṣāṇa*—(l. 62 vs.). Renou (*BMU.* p. 9) explains *vāvṛhāṇa* -in *ahighnaṁ tam arṇave*

śayānaṁ vāvṛhāṇaṁ tavasā pareṇa (l. 66 vs) as a mixture of *babṛhāṇa* and *vāvṛdhāna-*. Was not *vāvṛdhānam* the original reading?; cf. *vāvṛdhānaḥ śavasā RV* x. 120.2 (of Indra). As ***ahighnam*** for *ahihanam* (see, Renou loc cit.) is not beyond doubt and it is rather Vṛtra that lies in the water, I should like to read ***ahiṁ ghnantam*** (that is, Indra) *arṇave śayānam* (modifying *ahim*), cf. *vṛtram āśayānaṁ sirāsu RV* I. 121. 11. Among many intensive participles used one after another in ll. 29—30 ***lelihāna-*** alone is somewhat noteworthy. More remarkable is *lelāyantīḥ* (l 46, see above). As for the puzzling *ploplūlayanti* (l. 5) 'drown' (Belv), Schrader's reading *poplūyayanti* (*op. cit.* p 144), looks less strange, that is, the causative of *poplūyate*, *plu* 'to float', standing between two causatives *jvalayanti* and *abhiṣīrayanti*. *Yad imā visphūrjayata evābhipadyante* (l. 49) 'in that these advance, quivering' (Belv.) contains another riddle. I am inclined to restore the correct form *visphūrjayantyaḥ*. A present participle seems to lie concealed behind *anakṣuvad* or *acakṣuvad* (l. 3) 'beyond the ken of our vision' (Belv.). Schrader's reading *anaśnuval* (*op. cit.* p. 144) suggests a correction and the sentence *yad etad......anaśnuvad iva sarvam aśnavat* (subj.) can mean 'that which, as if not pervading, shall pervade all'—an Upaniṣadic paradox.

A Vedic infinitive in *-tavai* is found in *brahmodyam āhvayitavai* (l.1, Belv. ex conj ?) Schrader *loc. cit.* reads *āhūyitavān*; the same word occurs in *ŚB* II.5.3 18. Another instance is *gamadhyai* (l.63 vs, read so for *°dhyāyī* as the regular cadence can be thereby restored), cf. *āśayadhyai*, *Bāṣk*. 18 d. On the dative form *avase* with gen.: *avase janānām* (l. 65 vs.) - *Bāṣk*. 12 d.; see Renou *BMU*. p. 6 and p. 9.

The tmesis may be assumed in the following: *eva padyat* (l. 13-14, inj. ! to be read *padyet* on account of *ārtim ṛcchet* which immediately follows ? even so still act. !), *eva padyata ārtim ṛcchati* (l. 43), *eva padyate pramīyate* (l. 54-55), *abhi tat padyate* (l. 38), *eva yanti* (ll. 50), *ativa sarvā bhūtāni tiṣṭhati* (ll. 40-41, *ati-ṣṭhā* with acc. Ved.). In *param atīvodeti* (l 42) and in *param atīvodyantam* (l. 42) *ati* is better taken as a preposition, cf. *param anūdyantam* (l. 43).

The construction of sentences is on the whole very simple. As in the Brāhmaṇa prose particles *u*, *vai*, and *ha* are not infrequently used, especially in fixed combinations such as *tad u ha* (l. 9 etc.), *na ha vai* (l. 18 etc.) or *na haiva* (l. 8, 33), *sa* (once *taṁ*) *hovāca* (l. 10 etc.). *Addhā* occurs once (l. 31, cf. Tsuji, *BMU*. p. 8), so also *id* (l. 19). *Su* is found in a pseudo-Vedic verse (l. 64 : *bhare-bhareṣu*), cf. Renou *BMU*. p. 9. *Iva* is quite often used and may partly have the sense of *eva* *Iti* is repeated where it seems to be needless, e. g. after *sa hovāca* (l. 10), *iti* is inserted thrice

(ll. 11-12) and is wanting just at the end of the whole speech (l. 14).

Each of five sages expounds his own view of the Highest One and is refuted in turn by the next one, but the verbal parallelism of each section is not always rigidly observed. Moreover the gender of the Highest One fluctuates between neuter and masculine, e. g. *enam* (l. 8), *imam* (l. 37). In *sa ya etad enam upāste* (l. 27) either *etad* or *enam* must have been wrongly written for *evam*; cf. *sa yad evam etad... upāste* (ll 26-27), *sa ya evam enam upāste* (l. 44). Frequent use of demonstrative and relative pronouns does not help much to make the situation clear. Ellipsis and laxity of construction oblige us often to conjecture. The following passage (ll. 32-33) may serve as an illustration of the style of our text: *Ya etad abhipadyeya gṛhṇīyād* (sg.), *atho visphurantīva* (pl., the subject must be the rays of the sun)..., *na hairābhipadyante* (pl., as if the rel pron. were *ye*!).

Though very short the *Ār*. is not lexically without interest. The concluding verses are entirely composed of Ṛgvedic words, out of which the most remarkable ones have already been pointed out by M. Renou (*BMU* p 9) I mention here alphabetically about a dozen notable words contained in the prose part. Cf. also the next paragraph (1) *Anārambha*– 'without support, affording no support': *yad idam iti dyāvāpṛthivyor anārambaṇa iva* (l. 16), cf. *Bṛh. Up*. III. 1. 6: *yad idam antarikṣam anārambaṇam iva*. (2) *Anvāyatta*- (l. 12, etc , 9 times) 'connected with, dependent on (loc.)', cf. esp. *Chānd. Up* II 9 2: *tasminn imāni sarvāṇi bhūtāny anvāyattāni*; with acc. *Śaun*. I. 18-19: *sarvāṇi ha vā imāni bhūtāny etad akṣaram anvāyattāni*, . *atha khalv idam anvāyattam* (for °*yattāni* through attraction. (3) *Asaṁvida*–(?) 'not knowing clearly': *asaṁvida eva* (l. 38, nom. pl.). Though *asaṁvida*– 'unconscious' is known from *ŚB* X. 5. 2. 11, *mogham saṁvidānaḥ* (l. 37) and *asaṁvidāna*– (l. 51) 'ignorant' suggest a scribal error for *asaṁvidānā eva*; different from *asaṁvidāna*– 'not agreeing together', *ŚB*, *Chānd. Up*. (4) *aṇḍakośa*– (l. 17) '*brahmāṇḍa*', cf. *Baṣk* 9a, Renou, *BMU*. p 2 (5) *ārtam* (l. 9, 22, 57) 'deficient' Belv : *Anārtam* (ll 15, 28, 45), a kind of 'Stichwort' in this disputation about Brahman, cf. *Bṛh. Up*. III. 4. 2, etc.: *ato 'nyad ārtam* (6) *Itthā* (l. 11 etc.), e.g. *atha neti nety etad itthettheti* (ll. 58-59) 'And this thus-ness and that-ness is 'not so, not so' (Belv.); (7) *Ūlumbha* (?) occurs (l. 37) in an interesting list of ignorant tribes: *Puṇḍrāḥ*, *Suhmāḥ*, *Ūlumbhāḥ*, *Daradāḥ* and *Barbarāḥ*. *Ūlumbhas* alone are hitherto unknown; *Udumbarāḥ* would suit the context, cf. Przyluski: U°, un ancient peuple de Panjab, *JA* 1926 I, p. 1 (8) *Upavyākhyāna* (ll. 4, 17, 30) '(supplementary) explanation', cf. *Chānd. Up*. etc. (9) *Davīyasitamā* (l. 47 bis) and *nedīyasitamā* (l. 46, 47), for the vocalism before-*tamā* cf. Renou, *Gr. sansc*. p. 189, Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Ai. Gr*. II. 2, p. 607. (10) *Divaspṛthivyoḥ*

(l. 10) gen., Pāṇ. VI. 3. 30, Wackern. *Ai. Gr.* II. 1, p. 154; the usual form occurs also: *dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ* (l. 16), *dyāvāpṛthivī* (l.2). (11) *Parāvat-* 'distance': *parāḥ parāvataḥ* (l 31) 'die fernsten Fernen' as *RV* X. 58. 11. (12) *Phāli-*'ploughshare'(?); *kṛṇvanti* (*kṛṣṇanti*, Schrad., *op. cit.* p. 144) *phālibhiḥ* (read so with Schrad., *loc. cit*) (l. 10) 'Were they...to plough it with plough-shares' (Belv.); *phāli-* or *phālin-* = *phāla-*? In this case the verb should be changed into *kṛṣanti* (13) *Mithu* 'falsely'. *mithu ceti vicakṣate* (l. 50) 'these...appear falsely' (Belv): cf. *vi-cakṣ* 'leuchten, erscheinen' *RV*, in a different sense l. 51 'visualise' (Belv.) (14) *Vijitīya-* 'victorious'(?): *vijitīyam iva manyamānāḥ* (l. 2) 'deeming himself pre-eminent' (Belv.) perhaps derived from *vijiti-* 'victory', the accusative can probably be explained as the result of disjoining a compound of the type *paṇḍitaṁmanyamāna-*, e.g. *Muṇḍ Up.* I. 2. 8 (Pāṇ III. 2. 83).

The *Ārṣ.*, imitating the frame of *ŚB* X. 6. 1 and *Chānd. Up.* V. 11. 24, resounds with echoes of the *Bṛh.* and the *Chānd.* (Deussen, Belv.). The most conspicuous is *neti neti* (ll. 58-59). *Chānd Up.* I. 6. 6 is almost verbatim reproduced in *ya etad asminn antar hiraṇmayaḥ puruṣo* etc. (ll. 39-40). The author had certainly in his mind *Īśā* 5 when he wrote: *tad idam antike davīyo, nedīya iva dūrataḥ* (l. 34), cf l. 46—47. A developed description of Brahman-ātman (ll. 59 – 61) seems to be an accumulation of traditional epithets met with in various Up.: *ananta-*; *ajara-*; *apāra-* cf. *Bṛh. Up.* II. 4. 12 (besides *ananta-*); *na vāre bāhyo nāntaraḥ* cf. *Bṛh.* III. 8. 8: *anantaram abāhyam*; *sarvavid-*; *bhārūpa-* cf. *Chānd.* III, 14. 2, etc; *vighasa-* 'devourer' (Belv.,) hitherto unknown is this meaning, to read *vijighatsa-* (*Chānd* VIII. 7. 1)? *prasaraṇa-* 'all-spreading' (Belv), cf. *Muṇḍ.* II. 2. 12: *adhaś cordhvaṁ ca prasṛtam*; *antarjyotis* cf. *BhG.* V. 24; *viśvabhuj-* cf. *Maitri* V. 1: p 70. 2, VI. 9: p. 105. 2; *sarvasya vaśī sarvasyeśānaḥ* = *Bṛh.* IV. 4. 22; *sarvam abhikṣiyan* 'in-dwelling everything' (Belv.), *kṣi* with *abhi* is dubious, *adhikṣiyan* 'extended over all' would be better, the *Bṛh.* passage just cited continues: *sarvasyādhipatiḥ*.

Though the *Śaun.* begins with *devāsurāḥ saṁyattā āsan* (= *TS* I. 5. 1. 1, *TB* I. 1 6. 1) like many a Brāhmaṇa-legend, its real aim consists in glorifying the mystic power of the *praṇava* which is after all identified with Indra. Linguistically our Upaniṣad is less interesting than the preceding. Some of the aberrant forms might be due to scribal errors.

It is not necessary to assume a double *saṁdhi* in *Indrovācaitad akṣaram* (l. 17) 'Indra himself uttered this syllable' (Belv.) I should like to read *indro vāvaitad aksharam*, *vāva* occurring elsewhere (1. 4. 7. 9).

The neut. pl. in *-ā* is once attested: *sarvā rūpāṇy evam abhicakṣīran* (l. 24), cf. *viśvā rūpāṇi* often in *RV*; but even this is

not beyond suspicion, cf. *sarva eva...mām abhicakṣīran* (ll. 37-38) which suggests that something is wrong in the above sentence. In *senānyās tu prathamajān āpyāyayiṣyasi* (l. 11) ('And you are to infuse vigour into those in the fore amongst the leaders of the army' Belv.), a slight change °*nyāḥ* acc. pl. agreeing with *prathamajān*, that is, the Vasus, is recommendable; °*nyāḥ* would have scarcely a chance of being a gen. sg. based on the locative °*nyām*; cf. *teṣām Indro Rudrān eva senānyo 'kaḥ* (l. 33), *senānyo hi tarhy Ādityān akalpayan* (l. 47) Similarly a comparison of parallel passages leads us to an emendation: *tasmād Rudrāṇām* (read so for *Rudrān*) *eva mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ Traiṣṭubhaṁ eti* (l. 40), cf. *tasmāj Jāgataṁ tṛtīyasavanam Ādityānam* (l. 47-48), *Chand. Up.* II. 24.1: *Rudrāṇāṁ mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ, ādityānāṁ...tṛtiyasavanam.*

There are two augmentless forms: *jighāṁsan* (l. 33, preceded by *eva*, to read *evājigh°*? cf. *apājighāṁsan* l. 43) and *pratisaṁdadat* (l. 34, 3. sing.). but the latter is quite doubtful as the parallel passages have *pratisaṁdideśa* (l. 6 and l. 43) and *dā* with *prati-sam-* is not found elsewhere. I prefer to read *pratisaṁdiśat* (though still without augment!). *Upakalpayan* (l. 33) might merely be a scribal error for *upāk°*, cf. l. 42. Neither the subjunctive nor the injunctive is in use. *Parāvṛtan* (l. 7) 'lest they should come back hither' (Belv.) is a mere aor. of *parāvṛt* (not Vedic) 'to turn one's back, retreat, disappear' and is, in this connection, synonymous with *parābhavan* (l. 35). By the way we should read *parābhavan* instead of °*bhāvayan* (l. 40), cf. l. 28. Enigmatic is *eṣa vāva te gopyāya* or *gopāyyāta* (l. 7) 'may he protect thee (Belv). Even *gopāyata* would be hardly possible, since *gopāy-* should be used in the *parasmaipada*. Perhaps the change into *gopāyitā* (since Mahābh. may serve as a makeshift. Another riddle is proposed to us in *upanīta* (l. 54, followed by *upāsīta*) and *upanvanti* (l. 60). From *nu* 'to praise', *nauti, nuvanti* with *upa*? Or rather distorted from *upāpnuvīta* and *upāpnuvanti*? Among the verbals *nāmagrāham* (ll. 12, 13, absol. in *am*, Br., Pāṇ. III. 4. 58) is noteworthy, cf. also *abhitvaram* (l. 15) from *abhi-tvar* 'to be in haste', Ep.

Morphologically, thus, there is little which speaks for the early date of our Up. Moreover, no trace of the tmesis is found here in contrast with the *Chāg.* or the *Arṣ.* On the other hand the style seems to have an archaic look in some points. Particles are frequently employed: esp. *ha*, often combined with *vai* or *vāva*, the combination in *nu* (l. 10) occurring once. The imperfect preponderates as the narrative tense. Apart from *uvaca* and *āhuḥ* the perfect is met with only thrice: *pratisaṁdideśa* (ll. 6, 43) and *vididyute* (l. 20), while *akaḥ* (l. 33) is the only certain instance of the aorist in the narrative, as *udapatiṣanta* (l. 41) 'rose up' (Belv). is doubtless a mixed formation. As in ancient Brāhmaṇa texts we

have often to guess at what demonstrative pronouns represent. In the beginning of our text, for example, *te ha* refers first to the gods (l. 1), then to the Asuras (l. 2) and lastly to the sages (l 4). Further in *te ha tata evārtim* (*ājim* apud Schrad op. cit. p. 283) *ārchaṁs*, *tān* (sc. *stokān*) *anv itarān* (viz. *devān*) *parābhāvayan* (l. 5), the choice between *ārtim* and *ājim* depends on our interpretation of *te*. Since the context demands the Asuras as subject, while it was rather the gods that came to grief, I prefer to read *ājim archan*, cf. *ājiṁ i-*, etc. in Br.

Generally speaking, the text consists of short sentences of simple structure. The author, however, seems not to have been quite particular about the use of tenses in conditional sentences. In (*abhyāyan*) *haniṣyāma vā (tad vo, yad devān na parābhāvayiṣyatha* (l. 3) the future with a secondary ending would be easily cured by a slight change of *-ma* into *-mo*, but Schrader's reading: *abhyāyanna ha°* (op. cit p. 283) suggests the original reading *abhyāyann ahaniṣyāma* Thus we get the conditional followed by the simple future in the subordinate sentence. The imperfect is odd in *yat prathamaṁ nābhyakīrtayo nāmugrāham, atha nānuvatsye* (l. 12). Should we here assume a nuance of the optative for the imperfect (as the counterpart of the opt. in a preterite sense, *Śvet. Up.* etc.) ?

The end of the text invites a short remark. Our Upaniṣad ends with an explanation of *RV* IV. 58.3 ('Zahlenmystik'), and in order to show that *vṛṣabha* in it is Indra a RV verse (III. 47. 5 a = VI. 19. 11 a) is quoted, but with a wrong form *vāvṛdhāma* instead of *°dhānam*. On the other hand *yad drāvayanti* (*rāvayanti apud* Schrad. *op. cit.* p. 283) *tad roravīti* (l. 65) is not a verse but a prose explanation of *roravīti* in the cited stanza.

In accordance with the content some ritual expressions draw our attention. E. g. *nunneṣu nārāśaṁseṣu* (l. 2) 'when the *nār° camasas* were removed', that is, when the Soma-sacrifice progressed until the point described by Caland-Henry in *L' Agniṣṭoma* § 147 et fin. (p. 220); cf *ApŚS* XII. 25. 24-27 ; *nyūṅkhayanti* (l. 39), *°yantaḥ* (l. 37) : *nyūṅkhakha*, read, therefore, *nyūṅkhayiṣyanti* (l. 37) for *nyu°* of the printed text; *mandra* 'the low tone', *mandreṇānvābhaktaḥ* (l. 20), *tasmān mandraṁ prātaḥsavaneṁ abhavat* (l. 21), cf. *AB* III. 44. 5: *tasmān mandrayā vācā prātaḥsavane śaṁset*, *ŚānkhŚS* VIII. 14. 1.

Preverbs are freely combined with a root, e. g. *upāva-nī upā ... yante* l. 4) 'to provide someone (acc.) with (instr) ?' *samān ā la h (labh dhvam* l 10) 'to take hold of, obtain'. As for *udakalpayan* (l. 4) 'assigned' Belv., the meaning and the parallelism with l. 35 and l 42 recommend the change into *upāk°*.

From the vocabulary there remain a few other words which deserve to be mentioned here : (1) *Abhyātta*-(l. 15) 'encompassing',

cf. *Chānd. Up.* III. 14. 2. (2) *Āvistarām* (l. 51). (3) *Itthā* (l. 39). (4) *Purayā-* and °*ya-*, the nom. sg. in °*yāḥ* : *yad eṣa puroga u* (read so for *ud,* (l. 8), *yad gāyatrī vai purogāḥ* (l. 22), the acc sg. in °*gām* : *tasya Indraḥ praṇavam eva purogām akarot* (l. 45) and in° *gam* : *sa praṇavam eva svaḥpurogām akarot* (l. 7). If *purogāyam evārabhasva* (l. 36) is correctly handed down, *purogāya*-'going ahead' is to be explained as an imitation of *urugāya*, interpreted after the fashion of *Nir.* II. 7 (5) *Bhāgaklpti-* (l. 10) : *na......*°*tim apy abhajanti* '(The great) do not aspire for a division in the gains' Belv., cf. *bhāga-kalpanā-Yāj. Sm.* II. 120. (6) *Mithu* with the verb *i* 'to act falsely toward (acc.)': *na ha vā enam mithu cid emi* (l. 49).

As our text agrees with *Chānd. Up.* III. 16, cf. *JUB* IV. 2, in its scheme of allotment (*prātaḥsavana* : *gāyatrī* : *vasavaḥ*, etc.), it is not strange that important parallels are found also in that Up. *Tasmād om ity anujānāti* etc. (l. 14-15): *Chānd.* I. 1. 8-9, *Tait.* I. 8. 1 ; *Ādityo vā udgīthaḥ* (l. 48): *Chānd.* I. 3. 1, I, II. 20. 1, *Maitri* VI, 4 : p 85. 4 ; *Ādityo brahma* (l. 48-49) : *Chānd.* III. 19. 1. and 4, *Bṛh.* II. 1. 2, *Kauṣ.* II. 12 ; *om ity ekākṣaram udgītham upāsīta* (l. 66-67) . *Chānd.* I. 1. 1, cf. also I. 1. 5. Owing to the ambiguity of terminology it is difficult to infer the relative chronology of our Upaniṣad from its treatment of *om*, cf. esp. the explanation of *catvāri śṛṅgā* (*RV* IV. 58. 3 a ; the word *śṛṅga*-occurs in our text l. 38, *viṣṇuga*-l. 2 and 26) by *yad imās tisro* (sc. *mātrāḥ*) °*thāsāv* (perhaps the fourth *amātra* part, or the socalled *bindu* or *nada* 'Nachhall') *iti catvāri.* Perhaps its place is to be sought between the *Māṇḍ. Up.* and the *Praṇava Up.* (= *GB* I. 1. 16-30).

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL STUDY OF THE RITUALISTIC SŪTRAS

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The Śrauta and Gṛhya-sūtras, which belong to the various Vedic schools and which constitute a veritable source of the Vedic sacrificial and domestic rituals, form a significant part of the Vedic literature. In ancient times religion covered the entire field of human activities—individual and social—and the sacrificial ritual formed one of the major forms of religion. A close and systematic study of the Sūtra literature, which contains an exhaustive treatment of the rituals is, therefore, essential for a thorough understanding of India's ancient civilization and culture. The first essential thing for a scientific study of the Sutra-texts is the publication of authoritative editions based on reliable manuscipts. Most of the Sūtra texts which are available at present have been published in more or less critical editions. A close study, however, may help to arrive at a more correct text of these Sutras. A commparative study of the Śrauta-sūtras, some of which have been recently published, helps a good deal in this respect.

An attempt is made here to suggest corrections in certain parts of the *Mānava-Śrauta-sūtra* and the *Kauśika-sūtra*, mainly on ritualistic grounds. The *Mānava-Śrauta-sūtra* belongs to the *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*. The first five books of this work were published by F. Knauer (St. Petersburg 1900-03). The sixth book was published later on by J. M. Van Gelder (Leiden 1919). The first book deals with the *Prāksoma* i.e. the seven *Havi*-sacrifices, the second with the *Agniṣṭoma*, the third with the *Prāyaścittas*, the fourth with *Pravargya* and the fifth with *Iṣṭikalpa*. The sixth book describes the *Cayana*. Modifications have been suggested here in the text of Books I, III & V. It would be found that in many cases the corrections pertain to the proper separation of consecutive Sūtras. Dr. W. Caland has already published a critical study of the text of this Sūtra (cf. *ZDMG*, LVIII, 505). The present paper might be taken as an additional attempt in that direction.

The *Kauśika-sūtra*, which is mainly a *Gṛhya-sūtra* and which belongs to the *Atharvaveda*, has been published by Maurice Bloomfield (*JAOS*, Vol. XIV, 1890). This is a good critical edition based on a number of MSS and also on commentaries Dr. Caland has made a close study of this Sūtra also and has suggested many an

emendation in the text (cf. *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900; *WZKM*, VIII, 367; *ZDMG*, LIII, 205; LIII, 217; LIII, 696; LIV, 97; LVI, 554). Lanman has also utilised the whole text of *Kauśika* in supplying notes to Whitney's translation of the *Atharvaveda* (*HOS*, Vols. 7 & 8). A few modifications apart from those already suggested by Caland and Lanman in the Sūtra-text describing the *Pitṛmedha* and the *Piṇḍapitṛyajña* (Kāṇḍikās 80-89; Adhyāya 11) and also certain other portions (Kāṇḍikā 70) have been suggested here.

MĀNAVA-ŚRAUTA-SŪTRA, BOOKS I, III & V

Mān SS 1. 2. 2. 17.—कुटरुरसीत्यश्मानमदत्त ॥
Read ० श्मानमादत्तो ॥

Mān SS 1. 3. 4. 1—आनुयाजिकीं समिधमादाय ॥ ब्रह्मन्प्रस्थास्यामः [इति ब्रह्माणमामन्त्र्य] ॥ समिधमाधायाग्नीत्परिधींश्चाग्निं च सकृत्सकृत्संमृड्ढीति प्रेष्यति । The editor of the *Mān SS* is in the habit of putting the sign '॥' before the quotation of a *mantra*. Here the sign is put before ब्रह्मन् प्रस्थास्यामः as well as before समिधमाधाय etc. which means that ब्रह्मन् प्रस्थास्यामः समिधमाधाय...संमृड्ढि is a continuous *praiṣa* which is partly addressed to the Brahman and partly to the Agnīdhra. However, the words समिधमाधाय do not seem to be forming part of the *praiṣa*. The Adhvaryu himself is expected to offer a fire-stick on the *Āhavanīya* fire, because he is already said to have taken it in his hand. The *Vārāha SS* 1. 3. 5. 15 gives identical text. According to the *Āpastamba*, and other Sūtras belonging to the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, the Agnīdhra is asked to offer the fire-stick. There the Adhvaryu is not said to have taken a fire-stick in hand.

Mān SS 1. 6. 1. 6—गतश्रीः शुक्रवान् ब्राह्मणो etc. Read शुश्रुवान् for शुक्रवान्.

Mān SS 1. 7. 5. 7—तद्बर्हिर्यदनीकवतस्य ॥ One ought to read तद्बर्हिर्यदानीकवतस्य ॥ In thn sacrifice for Sāntapana Maruts that sacrificial grass is to be used, which was utilised formerly in the sacrifice for Anīkavant Agni; cf. *Vārāha SS* 1. 7. 3. 2—पूर्वां पौर्णमासीमानीकवतायोपवसेत् ।

Mān SS 1.8.5. 18-19. ०दक्षिणस्याः श्रोणेः पूर्वार्धात् ॥ १८ ॥ गुदं त्रेधा विभज्य तस्याणीयस उपभृति त्र्यङ्गाणां स्विष्टकृते समवद्यति etc. ॥१९॥. The Sūtras relate to the taking up of portions of cooked organs. The above-mentioned Sūtras seem to have been wrongly separated. The former Sūtra speaks, or rather should speak, about the portions of the organs to be taken in the *Juhū*, ladle, and the latter about those in the *Upabhṛt* ladle. Therefore, the words गुदं त्रेधा विभज्य तस्याणीयसः should form part of the 18th Sūtra, because the smallest of the three parts into which the *guda* is cut is to be taken in

the *juhū* ladle. The next Sutra speaks about the portions to be taken in the *Upabhṛt* ladle; cf *Vārāha ŚS* 1 6. 7. 1—हृदयस्य जिह्वायाः क्रोडस्य सव्यस्य कपिललाटस्य पार्श्वयोर्यक्नोवृक्कयोर्दक्षिणस्याः श्रोण्याः गुदतृतीयमिति द्विर्द्विरवदाय जुह्वामवद्यति ॥

Mān ŚS 1. 8. 5. 23-24—त्रेधावद्यति जुह्वामुपभृतीडापात्र्यां वसाहोमहवन्यान् ॥ २३ ॥ रेडसो ते वसाहोमं गृहीत्वा पार्श्वेनापदधाति ॥२४॥ The word वसाहोमहवन्यां should really from part of 24th Sutra The Adhvaryu should take up the *yūṣa* mixed with the *medas* in three containers, namely the *juhū*-ladle the *upabhṛt*-ladle and the *iḍāpātrī*. He should then take the *vasā* in the *vasāhomahavanī* and cover it with the remainig portion of the *pārśva* i. e. the hinder leg, cf. *Vārāha ŚS* 1. 6. 7. 5-6 यूषे मेदः परिप्लाव्य त्रेधं विच्छिद्य जुहूपभृतौ प्रच्छादयति ॥ शेषमिडायाम् ॥

Mān SS 3. 1. 27—आहं यज्ञं दधे निरृतेरुपस्थात्तं देवेषु परिददामि विद्वान् । सुप्रजास्त्वं शतं हि मामदन्त इह नो देवा मयि शर्म यच्छत । In place of निरृतेरुपस्थात्तं the *Vārāhapariśiṣṭa* (Baroda MS. No 680) reads निरृतेरुपस्थ आत्मन् It would further be correct to read हिमा मदन्त in place of हि मामदन्त.

Mān ŚS 3. 3. 6—हुते [ऽग्निहोत्रे] मैत्रं चरुं निर्वपेत् सौर्यमेककपालमपि वा । इन्धानौ दम्पती वाग्यतावनश्नन्तौ सर्वाह्णमुपासीयाताम् । द्वयोर्गवोः सायमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् । श्वोभूतेऽग्नये व्रतपतये ऽष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत् ॥ Here two parts of the Sūtra have been wrongly separated. The former part of the Sūtra ought to end with सौर्यमेककपालम् and the words अपि वा should form the beginning of the next part. The Sūtra lays down the expiatory rites, if the sun rose before the offering of the morning *agnihotra*. In that case the officiating priest as well as the Adhvaryu should perform certain rites before the actual offering of the *agnihotra*. Having offered the *agnihotra* one should offer boiled rice to Mitra and a sacrificial cake on one potsherd to Sūrya. Or the sacrificer and his wife should observe silence and fast and keep the fire flaring. In the evening the *agnihotra* should be offered with the milk of two cows and the next morning a sacrificial cake on eight potsherds should be offered to Agni Vratapati.

Mān ŚS 5. 1, 3. 21—अवभृथेऽष्टीं ध्यानेन चरन्ति । Read अवभृथेष्टीं for अवभृथेऽष्टीं ।

Mān ŚS 5. 1. 5. 12—ममानीय दक्षिणा ॥ The MSS read समानीय, but one expects समानी. It is not clear why the editor has stated in the footnote that the Sūtra might be explained differently (lässt sich verschieden erklären).

Mān SS 5. 1. 5. 44—तथा सांग्रामिक्यौ य इच्छेदयमेव राजा स्यात् यावदिमान् यवान् व्रीहीन् वाऽऽदधीयेति ॥

One would like to read सांग्रामिक्यो in place of सांग्रामिक्यौ because the same *puronuvākyā* and *yājyā* verses, namely विश्वं विव्याच and स जायमानः which are to be recited in the sacrifice to be performed by one who has to partake of impure food, are also to be recited in each of the three sacrifices (*MS*. 2. 1. 2) to be performed with reference to battle and also in that to be performed by one who desires to procure rice-grains or barley-grains under a particular king.

Mān ŚS 5. 1. 6. 7—अग्निं वः पूर्व्यं गिरा मक्षू देववत इति मनोऋचः षडाज्याः ॥

The last word is inexplicable. The right reading would be षड् धाय्याः. Most of the MSS read षड्घाय्याः. *MS* 2. 1. 5. says मनोऋचो भवन्ति and these are given in *MS* 4. 11. 2 along with the *puronuvākyā* and the *yājyā* verses for the sacrifice Soma-Rudra for attaining *brahmavarcasa*. *Kāṭh. Saṁh.* 11. 5. says मनोऋचः सामिधेनीष्वन्वाह्युनुब्रूयात् ॥

Mān SS 5. 1. 7. 37—अत्र संनाय्य वातोपधूत इति हविषः ॥

The Sutra is intended to give the *puronuvākyā* and the yājya verses with regard to the sacrifice mentioned in Sutra 35. In place of अत्र संनाय्य it is necessary to read उक्षान्नाय ; cf. *MS* 4. 11. 4. The following variants for कल्पः ॥ अत्र संनाय्य, as given in the footnote, support the emendation :—काल्प्यत्र माक्षाय, कल्प । त्रक्षाक्षाय, कल्पृक्षान्नाय, कल्प । नुक्षान्नाय. The editor says that one can read सांनाय्यम् in place of संनाय्य but scarcely anything else, (st. *saṁnāyya* kann man auch *sāṁnāyyam* vorschlagen, aber schwerlich noch etwas anderes.)

Mān SS 5. 1. 8. 11-12—ततः पुरस्ताद् ग्राम्यवादीन स्यात्तस्मिन् सभायामुपविष्टेऽभिवातं पांसून् ध्वंसयेयुः ॥ प्रेत मरुतः स्वतवस एन विश्पत्याऽमु राजानमभीति ॥११॥ ग्राम्यवादिनो गृहाद् व्रीहीनाहृत्य त्रेधा तान् विचिनुयात् etc ॥१२॥ It is right to hold that the 11th Sutra ends with पांसून् ध्वंसयेयुः and that the 12th commences with प्रेत मरुतः ; cf. *MS* 2. 2. 1.

Mān SS 5. 1. 10. 29—यो जात एवेति महस्वतः । Read मनस्वतः for महस्वतः See *MS* 2. 2. 9.

Mān SS 5. 1. 10. 60—किमित्ते विष्ण इत्युत्तरयोश्चतस्रः । उत्तरे पूर्वयोः ॥ This Sūtra, along with the preceding one, gives the *puronuvākyā* and the *yājyā* verses to be recited in the sacrifice meant for the expiation in the case of the New-moon sacrifice being performed on the day preceding the proper day. The sacrifice is offered to three deities, namely *Agni dātṛ*, *Indra pradātṛ* and *Viṣṇu śipiviṣṭa* of *MS* 2. 2. 13. The Sūtra above mentioned, refers to the *puronuvākyā* and the *yājyā* verses pertaining to the last two deities. The verses are given at *MS* 4. 12. 3. Here the verses for *Viṣṇu śipiviṣṭa* are given first and those for Indra *pradātṛ* are given

afterwards. The Sūtra किमित्ते विष्ण इत्युत्तरयोश्चतस्रः is quite all right. But the subsequent words उत्तरं पूर्वयोः do not give the right meaning. A variant reading, namely उत्तरपूर्वयोः, from the *MS* N has been recorded in the footnote and it gives the correct meaning. It directs one to take the two sets of verses in a reverse order.

Mān SS 5. 2. 2. 22-23—हुते समिष्टयजुषि सौम्यं चरुम् ॥२२॥ चतस्रः पिण्डीः कृत्वा सौराभिर्हस्त आदधाति ॥२३॥

This sacrifice prescribed for one desirous of good eye-sight is given in *MS* 2. 3. 6,. One has to read सौर्यं in place of सौम्यं, because the चरु prescribed in this sacrifice is सौर्य, not सौम्य. Further it is necessary to combine Sutras 22 and 23 as one single Sūtra, because Sūtra 22, as it stands, does not give any meaning.

Mān SŚ 5. 2. 3. 16—इन्द्रं वैत्रं यज ॥ वोधा सु म इति यजति ॥ In place of वोधा सु म इति one has to read पूर्वया, meaning that the verse आपप्राथ which was formerly used as the *puronuvākyā* (= *purvā*) is to be used here as the *yājyā* verse ; cf. *Mān SS* 5. 2. 3. 20

Mān ŚS 5. 2. 4. 21—उपयामगृहीतोऽस्यच्छिद्रं त्वाऽच्छिद्रेणेति प्रतिप्रस्थातोपयामेषु सुराग्रहान्कुवलसक्तुभिराश्विन श्रीत्वा सादयति । etc. Here the Sūtra ends after सुराग्रहान्.

Mān SS 5. 2. 7. 1—राजन्यात्काम्यानां निर्हारो विभ्यदादित्येभ्यो भुवद्वद्भ्यो घृते चरुः ॥

It is better to divide this Sūtra into two after निर्हार.

Mān SS 5. 2. 10. 20-21—ऐन्द्रीं सूतवशामालभेत राजन्यो भूतिकामः । सूतवशायाः पुत्रम ॥२०॥ ऐन्द्रमृषभमालभेत तेजस्कामः ॥२१॥

In view of *MS* 2. 5. 4 it is correct to end the 20th Sūtra after भूतिकामः, and read the rest of it with the next Sūtra.

Mān SS 5. 2. 14-16—प्राण्येन्द्रं गच्छ स्वाहेत्यपाने ॥

One has to read अपानेन for अपाने ; cf. *MS*. 1. 9. 6. It is not clear why the editor says in the footnote that there is no compelling reason to correct अपाने as अपानेन following the above-mentioned *MS* passage (Nach *MS* 1. 137. 12 *apānena* zu corrigiren läge keine zwingender grund vor.).

Mān SS 5. 2. 15. 12—अनामन्त्रितोऽनुजानाति प्रोक्षन्तं हविः पूर्वं परिग्राहं परिग्रहीष्यन्तं सामिधेनीरनुवक्ष्यन्तम ॥

In place of पूर्वं it is necessary to read उत्तरं because the reference to the Brahman is involved with regard to the *uttara-parigrāha* of the *vedi*, not the *pūrva-parigrāha*.

THE KAUŚIKA SŪTRA

Kauś S. 69. 18-21—तयोरुपर्यधरारणिम् ॥१८॥ दक्षिणतो मूलान् ॥१९॥ पश्चात्प्रजननामुर्वश्यसीत्यायुरसीति ॥२०॥ मूलत उत्तरारणिमुपसंधाय ॥२१॥

This group of Sūtras, as it stands, does not yield good meaning. The accusative case of मूलान् in Sūtra 19 cannot be accounted for. One would expect दक्षिणतोमूलाम्, even though without any MS authority, as the adjective of अधरारणिम्. In that case Sūtras 18 and 19 would make one Sūtra. In Sūtra 20 there are two formulas : उर्वश्यसि and आयुरसि which can hardly be employed for a single rite. It would, therefore, be reasonable to cut the Sūtra after उर्वश्यसीति and join the first part to the Sūtra formed by combining the Sūtras 18 and 19 and join the latter part to Sūtra 21. Keśava in his *paddhati* on Sūtras 20 and 21 prescribes that the bottom of the upper kindling wood should be joined to the lower kindling wood with उर्वश्यसि (उर्वश्यसीति मन्त्रेणोत्तरारणिमूलमधराणिना संयोज्यम् ।) But in that case the formula आयुरसि would remain unemployed. The formulas उर्वश्यसि and आयुरसि cannot be taken together to form one formula, as they are separated by इति. It would thus be reasonable to read the four Sūtras as two Sūtras in the following way : तयोरुपर्यधरारणिं दक्षिणतोमूलां पश्चात्प्रजननामुर्वश्यसीति ॥१८॥ आयुरसीति मूलत उत्तरारणिमुपसंधाय ॥१९॥

The formulas उर्वश्यसि and आयुरसि accord with their respective actions, namely putting the lower kindling wood on the two *darbha*-blades and fixing the upper kindling wood on the lower kindling wood. Cf. *Kāty SS.* 5. 1. 24-25—उर्वश्यसीत्यधरारणिं तयोः ॥ आयुरसीत्युत्तरयाऽऽज्यस्थालीं संस्पृश्य पुरूरवा इत्याभिनिधानं तया ॥ Cf. also *Baudh SS.* 4. 5.

Kauś S. 70 5-7—चतुर्थ्योपसमादधाति ॥ यत्त्वा क्रुद्धा इति चों भूर्भुवः स्वर्जनदोमित्यङ्गिरसां त्वा देवानामादित्यानां व्रतेना दधे । द्यौरिवभूम्नासि भूमिभूम्ना तस्यास्ते देव्यदितिरुपस्थेऽन्नादायाऽन्नपत्याय। दधदिति ॥६॥ लक्षणे प्रतिष्ठाप्योपोत्थाय ॥ ७ ॥

Here Sūtra 6 gives only the *mantras* and refer to the rite concerned. The particle च (in चों) cannot be properly explained. It would, therefore, be reasonable to join the words यत्त्वा क्रुद्धा इति च to the preceding Sūtra and the remaining portion of Sūtra 6 to the next Sūtra. Thus the text would be as follows :— चतुर्थ्योपसमादधाति यत्त्वा क्रुद्धा इति च ॥५॥ ओं भूर्भुवः...दधदिति लक्षणे प्रतिष्ठाप्योपोत्थाय ॥ ६ ॥

The formulas in this latter Sūtra suitably agree with the rite of placing the fire in the fire-place.

Kauś S. 80. 35—उत्तिष्ठ प्रेहि प्र च्यवस्योदन्वतीत एतेऽग्नीषोमेदं पूर्वमिति हरिणीभिर्दैरेयुरति द्रवेत्यष्टभिः ॥

The editor has taken उत्तिष्ठ प्रेहि as the *pratīka* of *AV* 18. 3. 8. But प्रेहि is a different *pratīka* of *AV* 18. 1. 54 as stated in Sāyaṇa's

commentary on that verse. So there are seven *pratīkas*, not six, from उत्तिष्ठ to इदं पूर्वमिति. Lanman, in his commentary to the translation of *AV*. 18. 1. 54 says that "Kauśika does not quote this verse". But, as noted above, it would not be unreasonable to treat उत्तिष्ठ as the *pratīka* of *AV*. 18. 3. 8, and प्रेहि as that of *AV*. 18. 1. 54.

Kauś S 80. 13—शान्त्युदकोदकेन केशश्मश्रुरोमनखानि संहारयन्ति ॥

The repetition of the word उदक in शान्त्युदकोदकेन is superfluous. The MS Bu reads simply शान्त्युदकेन which seems better.

Kauś S 81. 2—तत्रैनमुत्तानमाधाय । The *MS*. Bu reads आधाय्य in place of आधाय. The reading in Bu is better.

Kauś S 81. 9—इममग्ने चमसमिति शिरसीडाचमसम् । Sāyaṇa's comm. on *AV*. 18. 3. 53 reads इममग्ने चमसमिति द्वाभ्याम् cf *Baudh. Pitṛ* 1. 9.

Kauś S 82. 2—अथैषां सप्त सप्त शर्कराः पाणिष्वावपते ।

आवपति as found in the *MS* Bu is better than आवपते because आवप् is *parasmaipadi*. The *ātmanepadi* forms of आवप् are very rarely found in the Vedic literature.

Kauś S 82. 1. 14-15—निस्सालामिति शालानिवेशनं संप्रोक्ष्य ॥ ऊर्जं बिभ्रदिति प्रपादयति ॥

The footnote gives the references to the *pratīkas* निस्सालां and ऊर्जं बिभ्रत् as *AV*. 2. 14. 1 and 5. 60. 1 respectively. As a matter of fact the entire hymns 2. 14 and 5. 60 are to be employed; vide Sāyaṇa's comm. on *AV*.

Kauś 82. 22-24—आदहने चापि वान्यवत्सां दोहयित्वा तस्याः पृष्ठे जुहोति वैश्वानरे हविरिदं जुहोमीति ॥२२॥ तस्याः पयसि ॥२३॥ स्थालीपाक इत्येके ॥२४॥

Read अपि वान्यवत्सां as one word. पृष्ठे does not seem to be correct. It might be replaced by पयो. Lanman (*Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*, Eng. Trans. p. 880) has taken पृष्ठे as it is. Further, तस्याः पयसि स्थालीपाक इत्येके should be one Sūtra. The *viniyoga* of वैश्वानरे हविरिदंजुहोमि etc. (*AV* 18 4.35) is given by Sāyaṇa as follows: पितृमेधे द्वितीयेऽहनि वैश्वानरे हविः इत्यनया दहनस्थानसंनिधौ अन्यवत्सायाः गोः पयः पयसि शृतं स्थालीपाकं वा जुहुयात् । The commentary on the verse also corroborates the emendation:—तस्मिन्नग्नौ इदं पयोरूपं स्थालीपाकरूपं वा हविः जुहोमि प्रक्षिपामि ॥

Kauś S 82.25—ये अग्नय इति etc. This verse is *AV*. 3. 21. 1. as given in the footnote. But the entire hymn of ten verses is to be employed, vide *AV*. *bhāṣya*.

Kauś, S 82. 23—स्योनास्मै भवेति भूमौ त्रिरात्रमरसाशिनः कर्माणि कुर्वते ॥

It is necessary to divide this Sūtra at last in two sūtras. The first should be स्योनास्मै भवेति भूमौ । Moreover, the latter Sūtra should be a negative statement. One expects the next Sūtras as त्रिरात्रमरसाशिनो न कर्माणि कुर्वते ।; cf. *Baudh Pitṛ*. 2. 1. 9—त्रिरात्रमक्षारलवण-भोजनमधःशयनं ब्रह्मचर्यं etc., *Bhār Pitṛ*. 1. 2—अनशनानध्ययनाधःशयनोदक-स्पर्शनानि etc.

Kauś. S 83. 30—एतद्वः पितरः पात्रमिति त्रीण्युदकंसान्निनयति ॥ One expects त्रीनुदकंसान्.

Kauś S 84. 15—प्राग्दक्षिणां दिशमभ्युत्तरामपरां दिशमभितिष्ठन्ति The MS Bu reads अभिनिरितष्ठन्ति in place of अभितिष्ठन्ति. Two other MSS, giving अभिरितष्ठन्ति, support it.

Kauś S 84.16—यथा चितिं तथा श्मशानं etc. One expects चितिः in the nominative case. The variants recorded are चितिं ; चित्तं ; चित्तं ; चितिः.

Kauś S 88. 14—पिञ्जूलीराञ्जनं सर्पिषि पयस्याङ्ध्वं पितर इति न्यस्यति ॥

The MS Ch reads आञ्जनसर्पिषि which is the correct reading.

PITARAH AND YAMA

By N.G. CHAPEKAR, M.A.LL.B., BADLAPUR.

Pitaraḥ is the nominative plural of the word *pitṛ*, which originally perhaps meant a protector or a guardian[1]. Later on, it seems the word underwent an expansion as regards its denotation. From guardian it came to denote a father[2]. Thereafter, it was applied to elderly persons in the family[3]. No wonder, the self-same word was requisitioned to serve another purpose. It meant dead ancestors[4]. We can easily imagine the next significatory evolution of the word. Not only dead ancestors but all the dead were understood by the word *pitaraḥ*[5]. At one place[6], in the opinion of Sāyaṇa, the word points to the rays of the Sun as they protect the world by first sucking up the water and then pouring it out, a process necessary for the sustenance of life. Such is the wide and varied significance of the word *pitṛ*. *Pitā* means a father; for a child knows in the first instance that he is being brought up under his benign care. He is then unaware of his biological origin. That the son is begotten by the father establishes the relationship between them. The bringing up of the son by the father is consequent on this relationship. The begetting is the first action; its conception however is of a later date. Hence, the word *pitā* and not *janaka* came to be universally adopted.

In course of time all fathers die. These dead fathers gather together somewhere in heaven They form a community which is aptly designated as *pitaraḥ*. The word *purāṇāḥ*, as applied to *pitaraḥ* in *RV*. X. 135-2, is therefore quite appropriate. The next step was to deify the *pitaraḥ*. They attained to the status of godhood[7]. The sacrificial worship of the dead ancestors became a religion with certain people, who were themselves known as *pitaraḥ*. This cult of ancestors worship had been considerably developed into a complete system of religion. There is no doubt that they were sacrificers or fire-worshippers[8]. They invoked their forbears to their sacrifices and prayed that these should bestow on

1. *R. V*. II. 5. 1; IV 17. 17, VIII. 32. 19.
2. *R. V*., I. 24. 1; 26. 3; 38. 1.
3. III. 39. 4 ; X. 62. 2.
4. III. 55. 2 ; IX. 69. 8.
5. VI. 62. 4; VII. 35. 12.
6. IX. 83. 3.
7. X. 56. 4 ; X. 16 2 ; X. 17. 3

Here, there is complete identification of *pitaraḥ* and Devas, "Oh Agni! when you have completely burnt down this corpse, take him instantly to the *pitaraḥ*. When a man breathes his last, he indeed becomes assimilated to the gods."

8. X. 154. 4.

them their blessings and favours[1]. The *pitaraḥ* were their sacrificial gods, and not Indra, Aśvins, Maruts, etc.

The *pitaraḥ* had the privilege of Soma drink at a sacrifice and hence they were called Somyāsaḥ.[1] Yama was their king[2] and their abode was the southern region. The *pitaraḥ* summoned or invoked at a sacrifice had their seats to the south of the altar. Their habit of sitting was different. They sat in a kneeling posture[3], and not cross-legged This manner of sitting is common to the Christians as well as to the Muslims.

Ṛg-veda X. 16 is wholly devoted to the dead persons lying on the funeral pile. There is clear evidence of the custom of cremating dead bodies, though it is equally true that burial also was in vogue[4]. Death meant departure from this body; the *pitaraḥ* were endowed with a new body after their cremation.[5]

It will be erroneous to suppose, however, that the dead called *pitaraḥ*, occupying the upper region, constituted an integrated unit. They, it appears, lived there community-wise, as they did on earth here while alive For instance, Ūmās was the designation of some *pitaraḥ*[6]. Another group of *pitaraḥ* was that of Aṅgirasas. In fact, "Aṅgirasaḥ, Atharvāṇaḥ and Bhṛgus are our *pitaraḥ*, exclaims one sage.[7] These in my opinion selected the person, who was to exercise sway over them as Yama.[7] Nay still more. One *ṛk* mentions Kavya-*pitaraḥ* and Ṛkva-*pitaraḥ* along with Aṅgiras *pitaraḥ*. The heads of the first two groups were Mātali and Bṛhaspati respectively[8]. Kavya and Ṛkva have been differently interpreted by Sāyaṇa in other places; but there is an agreement that here they mean particular *pitaraḥ*; I agree with this view. By Mātali Sāyaṇācārya understands Indra. I however think that Mātali was the name of the prince of Kavyas. The word need not mean Indra. In later literature Mātali is spoken of as the charioteer of Indra. Sāyaṇa therefore argues that Indra having Mātali as his charioteer could be called Mātali This is a specious argument. The word occurs here only and nowhere else in *Ṛgveda*. Besides, I have decided not to ramble outside the Ṛgveda for its interpretation. I cannot therefore accept Sāyana's interpretation.

1. X. 15. 3 & 4; X. 14. 1 & 13.
2. X. 14. 7; X. 16. 9.
3. X. 15. 6. cf. *Jānumāchya*
4. X. 15. 14 (*Ye anagnidagdhāḥ.*)
5. X. 14. 8; X. 14. 12; X. 15. 5.
6. Agni is to bring *Ūmāḥ pitaraḥ*.
7. X. 14. 6.
8. X. 14. 3.

Though I have adopted the accepted meanings of the words Kavya, Angiras and Ṛkvā, I should like to point out the possibility of a somewhat different interpretation. We all know that Angiras is the name of a particular Veda. The versified prayers of another Veda were known by the name of Ṛks; similarly, the verses embodying the prayers offered to the *pitaraḥ* were distinguished by the word Kavya. The description of the poet, namely that Mātalī is exalted by Kavya prayers, Yama by Angiras prayers and Bṛhaspati by Ṛks is historically correct. *Kavyaiḥ* is equivalent to *pitṛṇām manmabhiḥ* (X. 5[illegible]). It is to be noted that Varuṇa also shares the honor, along with Yama, of being the prince of the dead. The soul of the deceased is told that he would meet in heaven the two kings Yama and Varuṇa (X. 14. 7).

There is one more factor which distinguishes the *pitṛ*-gods from other gods. The offerings made to the *pitaraḥ* were called *svadhā*[1], while those made to non-*pitṛ* gods were called *svāhā*. I think this gives rise to an inference that there existed separate groups of people evolving their own culture independently. If this is true, then it will have to be conceded that the Vedic society was not a homogeneous one.

Sarasvatī is associated with *pitaraḥ*. What is meant by Sarasvatī? I think the river Sarasvatī is not before the mind of the poet; for here she comes to the sacrifice sitting in a chariot along with *pitaraḥ*, who ask her to accompany them. So also she is delighted with *svadhā* as *pitaraḥ* are; obviously she is a heavenly body, a personification of some natural phenomenon. (See X. 17. 7-9 where oblations are offered to Sarasvatī.)

Our attention is drawn to a verse which accounts for the existence of human beings on earth. How did they come to be? The Devas, namely the luminaries located in the sky, cannot be the progenitors for obvious reasons. Children are begotten by the union of parents. Therefore the first men and women on this globe were supposed to be the direct offspring of *pitaraḥ*, their progenitors. Even to-day during the performance of the anniversary rites the *pitaraḥ* are entreated to bestow the gift of a male issue. In this connection it is worth pointing out that the *pitaraḥ* are associated with Prajāpati, the Lord of progeny; (see X. 169. 4).

There is a specific statement that the *pitaraḥ* produced their progeny and it was they who endowed human beings with the power of procreation (X. 5[illegible]. 6). In the previous verse it is mentioned that the *pitaraḥ* pervade the whole world and also illumine it.

Out of the several gods of the dead mentioned before, Yama[2]

1. X. 17. 8 *Sarasvati ... svadhābhirdevi pitṛbhirmadantī.*
2. I. 38. 5; 35. 6.

alone, it seems, survived. This Yama was the son of Vivasvān[1] (the sun) and Saranyu was his mother[2]. She was the wife of the sun. In some places the sun has been spoken of as Yama[3]. Indeed this word Yama has been used to denote several different objects. For instance, Yama means Agni[4], Indra[5], the highest god[6], season (*rtu*)[7], death[8], charioteer[9], law[10], sacrificer[11], lightning[12], the king of the people (*viśpati*)[13], etc. In another place the corpse on the pyre itself has been addressed as Yama[14]. The root meaning of the word is to restrain, and so the word conveys this sense in several places. Nay, Yama is used as an adjective qualifying Indra. There it means 'well regulated or self-controlled. Still another meaning of the word is pair[15]. Not satisfied with this lengthy list, the late V. K. Rajavade contends that Yama signifies do[illegible]r[16].

Yama's messengers were dogs as also the owl and the pigeon[17]. Yama is powerful enough to subdue his enemies[18].

Yama lives in the sky[19]. He is honoured with oblations and Soma drink (see reference No 9). Yama was the first to know the final destination of the dead (X. 14. 2). I understand *pātum* to mean the place to go. It is equivalent to *gantih*, destination. Here the poet says that the way the *pitarah* of yore went, is followed by all.

Yama's greatness is described in the following words:— "Yama presents himself whenever particular sacrifices, for instance Trika and Druka, are performed; he visits six lands; in fact he pervades the whole universe; all the metres are centered in Yama (X. 14. 16)." There is no doubt that Yama was the supreme god of a certain class of people.

The root meaning of Yama, as said before, is to restrain, to control, to curb, to regulate, etc. We find the word used in this

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1. X. 14. 1 & 5 ; X. 58. 1
2. X. 17. 1 & 2.
3. X. 114. 10 ; 135. 7 ; 51. 3.
4. I. 66. 4 ; 163. 2.
5. I. 183. 5 ; I. 164. 46 as interpreted by Sāyana
6. VII. 33. 9 & 12. *Yamam* [illegible] according to Sāyana
7. I. 164. 15.
8. X. 165. 4. Yama here is identified with god of Death.
9. VIII. 103. 40.
10. IX. 68. 5.
11. X. 21. 5 ; 52. 3. Yama, according to Sāyana, means a sacrificer
12. X. 1[illegible]3. 6 *Yamasya* [illegible] S
13. X. 135. 1
14. X. 154. 4 & 5.
15. II. 39. 2 ; III. 39. 3 ; X. 8. 4 ; X. 13. 2.
16. Marathi Nirukta by V. K. Rajawada, p. 792.
17. X. 14. 10-12.
18. X. 134. 6.
19. X. 64. 3.

sense in a number of cases. The celestial horse is addressed as Yama, a word which denotes, in the opinion of Sāyaṇa, the sacred fire, because the latter regulates (life).[1]

R.V. X. 16-8 needs some consideration. I think this verse, as I understand it, is out of place in this Sūkta, which mainly refers to the funeral of the dead person. It is not a daily sacrificial performance. The Devas should have no place in such sacrifices. The *ṛk.* can be translated thus: "Oh Agni, do not disturb this, *camaśa*, (for) it is highly valued by the gods as well as the Somyāḥ The *devas* drink Soma juice from this *camaśa*; the immortal gods are exhilerated thereby". Sāyaṇa understands *pitaraḥ* by the word Somyāsaḥ. In my opinion it may simply mean those who are entitled to Soma drink, but who are other than the immortal gods •

Anyhow it has nothing to do with Yama. Somyāsaḥ does not necessarily mean *pitaraḥ*. Here the *camaśa* is one. Both gods and manes might not have been drinking from the same *camaśa*.

The 10th Maṇḍala affords some evidence to show that the Ṛgvedic society subscribed to certain beliefs and tenets. For instance, it was considered a good omen that there should grow Dūrvā grass, where a funeral had taken place (X. 16. 3). The people had an obsession of ghosts. It was believed that the funeral or burial ground was infested with ghosts and evil spirits. At the time of the cremation the evil spirits are asked to get away from the place, which was supposed to be specially created by Yama for the dead (X. 14. 9). It seems that people had somewhat advanced ideas as regards the formation of the different parts of the body. The sight comes from the sun; so at death it goes back to the sun. Breath is derived from the wind; after death therefore it reverts to its first cause. The deceased (probably the soul) is expected to go either to heaven, or to earth or to the sky according to its actions (*dharmaṇā*) here, as it suits it. The other limbs are perhaps related to the plants. So, the deceased is asked to live in the plants by his limbs (*śarīraiḥ*) (X. 16. 3).

Though it is a truism to say that man goes to heaven or hell according to his deeds, still the relatives naturally wish him well. Prayers therefore are offered that the dead should be taken to heaven, the abode of the virtuous (X. 16. 4). In the first stanza of this hymn Agni is urged to warm him, who is unborn (*ajaḥ*

1. I. 163. 3; 73. 10; II. 5. 1 & 2. I would translate the last two stanzas as follows:—

"Agni (*hotā*) who is animate (*cetanaḥ* = quickening or inspiring) who is a protector (*pitā*), is born or has appeared (*ajaniṣṭa*) for the benefit (*ūtaye*) of the *pitaraḥ*; donating (*prayakṣan*) covvetable (*jenyam*) wealth. Let us regulate the wealth." I take *prayakṣan* as present participle. *Yakṣa* is a verb. It may mean to give.

bhāgaḥ tam tapasva). *Tapasva* cannot mean burn here. The immortal cannot be destroyed by flames. Moreover in X. 16. 1, it is fervently hoped that the deceased will not be searched and tormented by the blazing flames of Agni. When the body is burnt, adds the sage, let the deceased go to the *pitaraḥ*.

R.V. X. 130. 6 throws considerable light on the division of the then society, Of yore, says the sage, 'sacrifice was performed when three categories of people came into being, namely *ṛṣis*, *manuṣyas* and *pitaraḥ*.' This proves that the *pitaraḥ* were a distinct community.

The manes invoked had their seats near the flames of the sacred fire. They were exhorted to give food to the sacrificer giving oblations, as well as to his son (X. 15. 7). Yama is the god of death (I. 116-2) Warfare therefore is always to his liking. This sense is conveyed by the words *Yamasya pradhane ājau* used in the 2nd stanza of the *ṛk* X 13-4. It is not easy to comprehend the meaning of this hymn, though Yama has been undoubtedly mentioned here as the lord of death. With a profound sense of hesitation I suggest the following interpretation; Yama snatched the most beloved body, (though) the far sighted (*ṛṣim*) sacrifice the lord of many Mantras (Bṛhaspatim), was performed. (It seems) you asked (*aurṇīta*) for death from the gods for people (*prajāyai*); why did you not ask for deathlessness (*amṛtam*);" Sāyaṇa's interpretation is not convincing. *Kam* is an expletive.

Yama figures as the prince of the dead in several places (X. 18. 13; X. 92. 11; X. 97. 16). There is no commentary of Sāyaṇa on X. 126. 1, which also refers to Yama. Two commentators have tried to interpret this verse but there is a wide difference between them. According to one at any rate Yama is here described as immortal (*amṛtasya Yamasya*), though he is the lord of the mortals.

There is a very engaging conversation between Yama and Yamī. The whole Sūkta (X. 10) is devoted to the discussion of a most vital matter. Yamī asks Yama to wed her or rather to cohabit with her. Yama and Yamī are brother and sister. Nay, they are twins. Apparently the topic relates to the subject of marriage between brother and sister, though it should be remembered that there is no mention of the word marriage anywhere in the Sūkta. Yamī desires to have sexual intimacy with her brother, which the latter declines. Yama remains adamant in spite of the whole armonry of arguments of his sister.

The first question is, who are Yama and Yamī? It is commonly believed that Yama is none other than the one who is the Lord of the dead. But this Yama is, according to tradition,

the son of Sūrya. Therefore Yamī too must be the daughter of the Sun. This, however, is a mere assumption. It lacks corroboration. The word Yamī is not to be found anywhere, save in this Sūkta It is the later literature such as the *Mahābhārata* and other Purāṇas which mention Yama and Yamī as brother and sister, having Sun as their father. But we do not have this relationship mentioned in the *Ṛgveda.*

Besides, Yama is a mythological person. There are no marriages in heaven. Yama cannot speak; personification is possible. But what about the contents? Are they imaginary? Some do think that they are. The dialogue may be imaginary, but is the subject matter real or unreal? In the opinion of some it is a mere figure of speech. The union of day and night, of fire and earth, of Indra (Sun) and Uṣā is metamorphised.

The idea of a union between brother and sister is unpalatable and repulsive to many people and hence this idea of metamorphosis. I think there is enough internal evidence in the arguments of Yamī to prove the reality or genuinness of the union of brother and sister, now tabooed. There is no doubt that the custom was in vogue in very ancient times. It may not have been necessarily amongst the Rigvedic people. That it was in vouge in Egypt is a historical fact. This verse is entirely secular: it mentions no sacrifice, no Soma drink, no gods. It must be held, therefore, that Yama and Yamī were the names of individuals of the human race; perhaps from a non-sacrificing society.

Before concluding it is necessary to explain the purpose which is at the back of this paper I agree with those who hold that much time had elapsed between the composition of the Ṛgvedic hymns and that of not only the Brahmaṇas and Purāṇas but also of the other Vedas I have therefore ignored the traditions, legends, etc., recorded in later literature I have interpreted the hymns with the help of Ṛgvedic text only. For similar reasons I do not assume that the arrangement by which ṛks have been grouped under a Sūkta represents an integrated subject matter; nor do I accept without corroboration that the Sūkta has been composed by the author traditionally assigned to it.

KĪKAṬA, PHALIGĀ AND PAṆI

BY

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RV. III. 53.14 reads :—

> kíṁ te kṛṇvanti Kīkaṭeṣu gāvo
> nāśíraṁ duhré ná tapanti gharmám |
> ā no bhara Prámagandasya védo
> Naicāśākhám maghavan randhayā naḥ ||

Among the Kīkaṭas what do thy cattle do ? They yield not milky draught,[1] nor hot milk offerings. Get thou to us the possessions of Prámaganda ; subjugate to us, O Maghavan, (the region of) Nīcāśākha.

The word *kīkaṭa* has been variously explained by Yāska, Mādhava, Sāyaṇa, and the modern commentators. It demands elucidation.

Yāska (VI 32) derives it : "*kiṃ kṛtāḥ, kimartham utpāditāḥ*; and he is right so far as grammatical considerations go ; for it explains cerebralization which is due to r that has disappeared, as in *bhaṭa, káṭa, paṭa* and *āḍhyá*.

Yāska's explanation of the word, however, is inapt. He says : *Kīkatō nāma deśo'nāryanivāsaḥ*" ; and he is followed in it by Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and others But *kīkaṭa* has basically nothing to do with any region or people. It obviously means "a thorny tree" (acacia), affording no shade in summer nor any grass under it for the cattle ; and thus it earns the epithet "*kiṁ kṛtaḥ vyartham evotpāditaḥ*". *kīkaṭa* equates with Hindi *kīkar* or *kīkar* ; and a reference to the cows wandering under kīkar trees for grazing is singularly apt in the context.

In its transferred sense *Kīkaṭa* may mean "the region abounding in Kīkaṭa trees", for appellations of regions based on tree-names are familiar in Sanskrit, for which cp. Audumbara "the region abounding in Udumbara trees" mentioned in *Mahābhārata* (cp. R. Schafer, *Ethnography*, p. 97). To locate the region "abounding in *Kīkaṭa* trees" we may not go out so far as Magadha, but may well restrict our search to the Kuru region, the eastern part of which abounds in *Kīkar* trees even today ; and was perhaps called "Kuru-jāṅgala-Pradeśa in Mahābhārata times for this very reason. *The Mahābhārata* expressly mentions *Kīkaṭāṭavī* for which cp. R. Schafer, *Ethnography* p. 125.

1. For details cp. K. Chattopadhyaya, Woolner Volume pp. 41-45, with references in footnotes.

2. For details cp. Sūrya Kānta, Ambaṣṭha, Ambaṣṭha and Āmbaṣṭha in B.C. Law volume II, pp. 135-136.

The use of the word *kīkaṭa* (= Hindi *kīkar*) in *RV*. III. 53. 14 is singularly happy and it is followed by the use of *śiṁśapā* (= Hindi śīśam) in verse 19, and that of *śimbala* (Hindi Simbal) in verse 22, indicating incidentally that the Sanskrit word *śālmalī* is a hyper-Sanskritism for the popular *simbal*, which is older and is nearer to Vedic than to Sanskrit.

The region abounding in *Kīkaṭa* trees denoted the Kuru-jāṅgala Pradeśa in Vedic times. Its use in the sense of Magadha or any other region or people is later and obviously wrong.

PHALIGĀ

Phaligá occurs in *RV*. I. 62. 4, 121. 10 ; IV. 50. 5; VIII. 32. 25 ; but the exact meaning of the word has been left undetermined even by Macdonell (cp. *Vedic Reader*), although in *RV*. I. 62. 4 ; IV. 50. 5; VIII, 32·25 it is spoken of as being rent or pierced and in RV. I. 62. 4: IV. 50 5 it is associated with Valá (= Var-á 'receptacle, √Vṛ 'cover) and in the Naighaṇṭuka it is given as a synonym of *meghá* 'cloud'. Obviously *phaligá* is a Prakritism for *pari-gá* for which is also used *pari dhí* (= fence) in *RV* I. 52. 5 ; III 33·6 ; IV. 18. 6 ; VII. 33. 9 ; IX. 46. 11, 107. 19 : X. 18 4, 90. 15.

Phali-gá (= *pari-gá*) may be compared with Skt. *paraśú*, Hindi *phalsā* 'axe'. Traces of Prakritism in the Veda are typified by *nīcīnabāra* (= *nīcīnadvāra*) occurring in *RV*. V. 85. 3.

PAṆÍ

The word *Paṇí* has been widely discussed by grammarians, but they all agree in deriving it from √paṇ 'bargain'. *Paṇi* means 'niggardly', a fellow, who hoards wealth but does not part with it for the use of gods or the Aryans.

This, however, leaves cerebralization in *paṇí* and √*paṇ* unexplained. To me the only feasible explanation seems to derive *paṇí* from √*pṛ* to 'fill', with primary derivative—*ni* as in *ag-ní* 'fire', *jū́r-ṇi* 'singing', *tū́r-ṇi* 'speeding' and *dhar-ṇí* 'supporter'. The loss of ṛ may be explained as in *kīkaṭa*. This derivation invests the word with its exact connotation i.e. one who hoards wealth and this is the implication of Bhāgavata III. 6. 28.

It was from *pa-ṇí* that cerebralization extended to √paṇ for which cp. various other explanations in Wackernagel, ***Altind. Gr.*** I. p. 193, 194, 195 ; Sūrya Kānta, ***Grammatical Dictionary***, p. 162.

Connected in sense with *paṇí* is the word 'Śūdrá' for which no satisfactory derivation has so far been proposed. I venture to derive 'Śūdrá' from √Śvi 'swell' + √drā 'run' ; the combination of the two roots meaning 'one who runs after gross life' i.e. an unintelligent fellow meant for manual labour. *Paṇí* and *Śūdrá* are thus connected in their sense.

SECTION II

GRAMMAR AND LINGUISTICS

'THE INTERPRETATION OF THE LEARNED.'

By

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For a western scholar who has not had the advantage of the instruction of a modern Pāṇinīya, the comparatively easiest and safest way to grasp the principles of the method of the indigenous Pāṇini interpretation would still be a careful study of Kielhorn's translation of Nāgojībhaṭṭa's *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (PŚ). He will thereby, not only get into the spirit of the traditional ways of handling Pāṇini's instructions and of critically examining their correctness, but will also make the acquaintance of one of the most eminent scholars of whom Indian scholastic learning can boast,- of Nāgojībhaṭṭa, son of Śivabhaṭṭa and pupil of Haridīkṣita, a grandson of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita.

It will be universally acknowledged that Nāgojībhaṭṭa was the first in that long line of scholars, who wrestled with the tremendous difficulties of explaining Pāṇini and the *Mahābhāṣya*; he could be truly called a match for Patañjali, whom he understood with a deeper insight and whose technique he applied with greater adroitness than any of his predecessors, including such illustrious scholars as Kaiyaṭa and Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita. He is, in fact, the great reformer of Pāṇini interpretation. He liberates the explanation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of a great many artificial interpretative tricks and, at the same time, he opens out a more thorough and precise understanding of Patañjali.

I must doubt whether I should have understood the most essential points of Nāgojībhaṭṭa's teaching from Kielhorn's translation of the PŚ alone More than to my great countryman, with whom I am connected through *upadeśaparamparā* I owe to the instruction of Pt. Kamalākānta Miśra, then at Daraganj near Allahabad, who was, in 1933-34, kind enough to give me the benefit of his great learning, patiently going through Nāgojībhaṭṭa's PŚ, parts of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (SK) and some passages of *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* (LŚ) with me.

It is the object of this paper to discuss one of the most essential principles of Nāgojībhaṭṭa's adding the method of historical criticism to what I learned from Kielhorn and Pt Kamalakānta Miśra. I hope that my modest contribution may be acceptable to the addressee of this Felicitation Volume, Dr. S K. Belvalkar, who represents such an outstanding example of a happy amalgamation of traditional

and modern scholarship and who has helped Pāṇini research so much by his "*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*."

Let me first make clear Nāgojībhaṭṭa's procedure in handling the interpretation of Pāṇini by a few examples.

In the beginning of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* (*SK*), when commenting on the *Śiva-Sūtras* (*SS*), Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita makes a couple of highly ingenious, though somewhat bold, assumptions.

1. First, he wants to understand the *a* of *SS* 6 *laṇ* to be an *it*, a symbolical sound, whereas he takes the *a* that follows all the other consonants taught in the *SS*, as *uccāraṇārtha* "given for the sake of [making] the pronunciation [possible]" in accordance with Patañjali, *Mahā-Bhāṣya* (*M Bh*) I p. 206 l. 23 f. (in Kielhorn's edition). In order to understand the *a* of *SS* 6 *laṇ* to be an *it* (*anubandha*) it is, of course, necessary to assume that it is not an ordinary *a*, but a nasalized one. By being nasalized it becomes an *it* according to Pāṇ. 1. 3. 2. *upadeśe 'j anunāsika it.* This assumption is possible as the nasalization of a vowel in Pāṇini's grammar is not expressed in writing. It has to be inferred from the very fact that a given vowel is used as an *it*. This principle is referred to by Bhaṭṭojī shortly after : *pratijñānunāsikyāḥ Pāṇinīyāḥ* The Pāṇinīya (i. e. the explainers of Pāṇini) whom nasality is [a matter of] theoretical recognition."[1]

The benefit Bhaṭṭojī derives from his assumption that *SS* 6 *laṇ* has to be interpreted as "*l* + *anubandha a* + *anubandha ṇ*" consists in the possibility of interpreting a *ra* used by Pāṇini, if desirable, as *r* + *anubandha a* and to understand it as a *pratyāhāra* 'condensed expression" (according to Pāṇ. 1. 1. 72 *ādir antyena sahetā*) for the sounds taught in *SS* 5...*ra-ṭ* 6 *l-aṇ*, that is as : *r* and *l*. This possibility comes in handy for the interpretation of Pāṇ. 1. 1. 51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*, which yields e g. the *guṇa* (*a*) form of *ṛ* : *ar*. Since *ṛ* and *ḷ* are to be considered *savarṇa* "homogeneous" vārtt. 5 on Pāṇ. 1. 1. 9), Bhaṭṭojī interprets, with the help of Pāṇ. 1. 1. 69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* Pāṇ. 1. 1. 51 : an *a*, *i*, *u*, when substituted for *ṛ* or *ḷ* are followed by a *r* or *l*." Thus he gets as *guṇa* for *ḷ* : *al*.

1. Understood thus, the principle, which is first stated in *Kāśikā* on Pāṇ. 1. 3. 2, leaves the explainers with a broad margin, too broad for Nagojī. Hence he reinterprets it with a view of narrowing it down. Uddyota on *SK* on Pāṇ. 1. 3. 2 : *Pāṇinīyā iti Pāṇiniprabhṛtiproktā varṇā ity arthaḥ pratijñā ca : 'ayam evam' iti kathanam varṇānām tattvajñāpako vyavahāraś ca...pratijñātāraś ca pratyāsattyaitacchāstrakartāra eva* .., which amounts to it that the sense is : "The sounds taught by Pāṇini and so on (i. e. the authors of the Bhāṣya) are [as] nasalized [recognizable] by Pāṇini and the authors of the Bhāṣya telling us them to be nasalized or treating them as such [but there is no permission given to us to interpret sounds as nasalized without the explicit authority of the Bhāṣya]."

This *phakkikā* "artful interpretative trick", is not the invention of Bhaṭṭojī. Already the Kāśikā on *SS* 6 says : *lakāre tv anunāsikaḥ pratijñāyate. tena ur aṇ rapara ity atra pratyāhāragrahaṇāl laparatvam api bhavati.* "In the *la* [of *SS* 6. *laṇ*], however, a nasalized [*a*] is recognized. By this [recognition] it results that [an *a*, substituted for *l*] is followed by an *l*, since in [Pāṇ. 1. 1. 51] *ur aṇ raparaḥ* [the *ra*-] can be taken as a *pratyāhāra*"

Also Kaiyaṭa makes use of it. In commenting on *MBh* on vārtt. 5 on Pāṇ. 1. 1. 9 (I p. 63 1. 14), *ḷākārasya laparatvaṁ vakṣyāmi* "[in order to obtain the correct *guṇa* of *ḷ*, i. e. *al*] I shall [in addition to Pāṇ 1, 1 51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*] teach that [an an *aṇ*, substituted] for *ḷ* is followed by an *l*," he says : *vyākhyāsyāmīty arthaḥ. rapara ity atra ra iti laṇ iti lakārākāreṇa pratyāhāra āśrīyate tatrāntaratamyād ṛkārasyāṇ rapara ḷkārasya laparaḥ* "the sense [of Patañjali's *vakṣyāmi* : 'I shall teach'] is : 'I shall make an interpretation'. The *ra* in the expression 'followed by *ra*' in Pāṇ. 1. 1. 51 is taken as a *pratyāhāra* (*r* + nasalized *a*) formed with the [nasalized] *a* of the *la* of *SS* 6 *laṇ*. This interpretation being applied (*tatra*) an *aṇ* substituted for an *ṛ* will be followed by an *r*, an *aṇ* substituted for an *ḷ* will be followed by an *l* according to the principle [laid down by Pāṇ. 1. 1. 50 *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ*] of the nearest neighbourhood [being to be considered when deciding on which substitute should be chosen when several would be available]."

With all this Nāgojībhaṭṭa disagrees. His first and fundamental objection against Kaiyaṭa would be precisely that of modern historical criticism : we cannot understand Patañjali correctly if we twist his words, substituting for his plain *vakṣyāmi* : "I shall teach", a *vyākhyāsyāmi* ; "I shall make an interpretation." Hence he says in his Uddyota : ...*anye tu*...*apūrvam vacanam kāryam ity eva bhāṣyāśaya ity āhuḥ.* "Others, however, say : the intention of the Bhāṣya [when saying '*vakṣyāmi*'] is only : 'A new (additional) teaching must be made' [that is : to Pāṇ. 1. 1. 51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* has to be added : '*ḷkārasya laparaḥ*' or any other expression of the same purport. The shortest way would be to say : *lraparaḥ* instead of *raparaḥ*, taking *ur* to mean 'for *ṛ and ḷ*' according to vārtt. 5 on Pāṇ. 1. 1. 9]."

He also offers a reason why we should think that Pāṇ himself did not want the *a* of *SS* 6 *laṇ* to be taken as an *anubandha* : *laṇsūtrasthākārasyānunāsikatve to rlāntasyety atra bhagavān Pāṇinir lakāraṁ noccārayet pratyāhāreṇaiva nirvāhāt* : "If the *a SS* 6 *laṇ* were nasalized, the illustrious Pāṇini would not pronounce the *l* in his rule 7. 2. 2. *ato rlāntasya* [but say instead of *rlāntasya* simply *rāntasya*], since he would have obtained his purpose [of naming both : *r* and *l*] by using the [alleged] *pratyāhāra* [*la*, i. e. *l* + *anubandha a*]."

This, however, is not a decisive argument. Nāgojībhaṭṭa himself would doubt its validity. For it is based on the same kind of inference as Kaiyaṭa's argument for considering the *a* of *SS* 6 *laṇ* to be an *anubandha*. It is an inference from a peculiar wording of a rule of Pāṇini. Kaiyaṭa and those who agree with him say that from the expression *ra-* in Pāṇ. 1.1 51 we may infer that the *a* of *SS laṇ* is meant to be nasalized and hence an *anubandha*. Nāgojībhaṭṭa says that from the expression *rla-* in Pāṇini 7.2.2 we may infer that it is not. Actually he only proves that this sort of argumentation cuts both ways; we may prove by it almost anything. Because he thinks so, he has introduced his statement in the *Uddyota* by *anye tu*, which might be rendered: "others [who are more likely to be correct]".[2] His final view, his *siddhānta*, he would introduce by *pare tu* "others [who are correct]", which amounts, with him, to *bhāṣyatattvavidas*: "those who know the true meaning of the Bhāṣya." His *siddhānta* would not only contain a statement that he considers correct, but also the valid and decisive reasons for his doing so. These reasons can be found only by a close study of the Bhāṣya. The argumentation of the *Uddyota* we were dealing with could be followed without understanding the Bhāṣya; it rests on an inference from the bare text of Pāṇini.

In the *LS*, when discussing the statement of the *SK* on *SS* 6: ***lansūtre 'kāraś ca***: "also the *a* in *SS* 6 *laṇ* [is an *it*]". Nāgojībhaṭṭa[3] gives his true *siddhānta* on the question: *pare tu... asyānunāsikatvam aprāmāṇikam ur aṇ rapara ity atra lagrahaṇam kartavyam eva...ity āhuḥ*: "others however [who know the true meaning of the Bhāṣya] say:...the nasalization of the *a* [in *SS* 6 *laṇ*] is without valid authority. In Pāṇ. 1.1 51 the sound *l* has to be actually added [and not gained by an interpretative device]." In giving the reasons for this view, he neither relies wholly on the observation of Pāṇini's speech usage in 7.2.2, to which he adds

2. *Kecit*, on the other hand, always refers to "certain [scholars]," whose opinion Nāgojī does not accept because it contains assumptions that are without the support of, or even against, the Bhāṣya. Thus he gives in *PŚ* paribhāṣā 56 and its defence as the opinion of "certain scholars": *kecit...āhuḥ* (*PŚ* p. 60 l.7- p. 61 l. 14), but his own contrary view, which is in agreement with the Bhāṣya, he introduces by *pare tu* (p. 63 l. 10). The view taken by paribhāṣā 4, which he considers incorrect, the view of paribhāṣā 5 being "alone proper" (...*eva nyāyyam*, PŚ p. 5 l. 17), he gives in *LS* on *SK* on Pāṇ. 1. 1. 71 as the opinion of "certain scholars": *kecit...āhuḥ*, and the view expressed by paribhāṣā 5, which is supported by the Bhāṣya, he frames by *pare tu...āhuḥ*. Kielhorn is, for axample, wrong in paraphrasing "*kecit*" of *PŚ* p. 2 l. 4 by: "*bhāṣyatattvavidas*" (Transl. p. 7 note [illegible]), as it is obvious that their conception is in flagrant contradiction to the Bhāṣya. Matters have been obscured by later commentators of Nāgojī, who, in certain cases, wanted to accept solutions that appealed to them more than Nāgojī's, being inclined to relent somewhat in their attitude towards later *phakkikas*. On such occasions, they try to maintain that Nāgojī's *siddhānta* is the opinion introduced by *kecit*. Cf. e. g. Kielhorn, Transl. p. 440 note 1 on *kecit* in PŚ p. 93 l. 6. The view given here as that of *kecit* is indeed very ingenious, but certainly not that of the Bhāṣya.

other analogous observations, nor on the plain sense of Patañjali's *vakṣyāmi*, but—with a truly formidable array of arguments, which show his command of the *Mahābhāṣya*—he proves that the assumption of a nasalized *a* in *SS* 6 is in evident conflict with explicit statements and implicit assumptions of other passages of the Bhāṣya, and that, besides, it leads to insurmountable logical difficulties.

2. Still more complicated is the history of the interpretation of Pāṇini **1. 3. 3** *halantyam* [*upadeśe...it* **1. 3. 2**], which, naturally, would have to be translated : "*a finishing hal* (=consonant) [used in the *upadeśa*] is termed *it*." Already Kātyāyana (vārtt. 3 on Pāṇ. **1. 3 3**) has noted that this formulation presents a logical difficulty The expression *hal* we can only understand to mean "a consonat" after knowing what is an *it*, because it is formed from the *ha* of *SS* 5 and the *l* of *ŚS* 14 in so far as this is an *it*, according to Pāṇ. **1. 1. 71** *ādirantyena sahetā*. But only from Pāṇ. **1. 3. 3** do we learn that the *l* of *SS* 14 *hal* is an *it*. Our understanding, then, of the term *hal* is dependent on our understanding the term *it*, and our understanding of the term *it* is dependent on our understanding the term *hal*. We are confronted with a classical instance of an *itaretarāśraya*.

The way the *SK* gets rid of the difficulty is well known to every Pāṇinīya. Bhaṭṭoji reads Pāṇ. 1. 3. 3 twice, interpreting it differently each time. First he understands : *halantyam* "the last [element] in *ŚS* 14 *hal* is to be termed *it*." Hereby it becomes possible to form the *pratyāhāra hal* by Pāṇ 1. 1. 71 from the beginning of *SS* 5 *ha-* and the *l* of *SS* 14 *hal*, as meaning 'consonant'. Then he takes Pāṇ. 1. 3 3 again and understands : *hal antyam* : "an ending consonant in the *upadeśa* is to be termed *it*." Hereby it becomes possible to form all the other *pratyāhāras*.

Kaiyaṭa has adopted another method. In his Pradīpa on Patañjali on vārtt. 4 on Pāṇ. **1. 3. 3** (I p. 261 1. 20 f.) he says : *pūrvaṁ lakārasyetsaṁjñā vidheyā. tena hal iti pratyāhāra upapadyate. tatra h l ca l ceti samāhāradvandvaṁ kṛtvā saṁyogāntasya lopa iti lakāro lupyate* : "first the term *it* must be taught for *l*. By doing so, the *pratyāhāra hal* ('consonant') is correctly obtained This being so (*tatra*) [it must be assumed that] a *l* has disappeared according to Pāṇ. 8. 2. 23 (*saṁyogāntasya lopaḥ*), after a *samāhāra-dvandva* [according to Pāṇ. 1. 2. 69] has been formed [with the original form **hal-l*] in the sense '*hal* and *l*'. We should consequently interpret Pāṇ. 1. 3. 3 *hal antyam* : "a finishing *l* in the *upadeśa* is termed *it* and [after forming with the help of this knowledge the *prahyāhāra hal* ['consonant'] also a finishing consonant in the *upadeśa* is termed *it*." Kaiyaṭa need not read Pāṇini's rule twice as does the ***SK***.

This time Nāgojī shows his impatience with Kaiyaṭa's tricks still more distinctly. Patañjali, who with Kātyāyana vārtt. 3 and 4 on Pāṇ. 1.3.3 is also of the opinion that first of all we ought to be told that *l* is to be termed *it*, so that we can understand *hal* to mean "consonant" in Pāṇ. 1.3.3; he further says (I p. 261 l.20 f.): *lakāranirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ. hal antyam itsaṁjñam bhavati. lakāraś ceti vaktavyam*: "a specific designation of *l* has to be made [i.e. added to Pāṇini's formulation *hal antyam*]. [Pāṇini 1.3.3 means:] 'A finishing '*hal*' is termed *it*.' There must be taught: 'also a [finishing] *l*'. Kaiyaṭa, again implies that Patañjali's statement cannot be taken verbally. On this Nāgojībhaṭṭa comments in the Uddyota: *evam ca bhāṣye kartavyapadaṁ vyākhyeyaparam iti bhāvaḥ. vastuto bhāṣye kartavyapadam yathāśrutam eva. Kaiyaṭas tu cintyaḥ*: "and thus the underlying idea [of Kaiyaṭa's explanation of Bhāṣya I p. 261 l. 20 f.] is: the word '*kartavya*', [used] in the Bhāṣya, has the sense of *vyākhyeya* ['to be gained by interpretation']. In reality the word *kartavya*, [used] in the Bhāṣya, is [to be taken] only in its obvious sense ('as it is heard': it must, then, mean: 'has to be made'). Kaiyaṭa, however, is to be looked upon with suspicion."

He goes on to show that neither could the disappearance of the final *l* in an alleged **hall* be justified by the correctly understood rule Pāṇ. 8.2.23, nor would the *dvandva hal-l*, presupposed by Kaiyaṭa, be logically correct. Then he winds up his discussion: *ata eva bhāṣye nirdeśaḥ kartavya ity uktam nirdeśa uccāraṇam. na tu luptanirdiṣṭa ity uktam.* "It is just for these reasons that it was said in the Bhāṣya: [*lakāra*] *nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ* (a *nirdeśa* of *l* must be made), *nirdeśa* is 'pronouncing'[3]. But it was not said: [*lakāraḥ*] *luptanirdiṣṭaḥ* ('[the *l*] is [to be assumed to be] expressed [in a] disappeared [form]')." The true *siddhānta* of the Bhāṣya is, according to Nāgojībhaṭṭa, contained in Patañjali's remark on vārtt. 5 (I p. 261, l. 23) If Kaiyaṭa meant to give a refutation of vārtt. 4 by his interpretation of Patañjali on this vārtt., he is wrong, "as", says Nāgojī, "it is proper to refute [the view of vārtt. 4] only in the fashion that will be taught by Patañjali [on vārtt. 5]'s...... *bhāṣyakṛdvakṣyamāṇarītyaiva pratyākhyānasya nyāyyatvāt.*

I hope from these two examples it will become clear also to those not familiar with greater parts of the writings of Nāgojībhaṭṭa, that the criticism he levels at his predesessors chiefly Kaiyaṭa, who may be called the Father of the Pāṇini interpretation prevalent at Nāgojī's time, does not only flow from his greater dexterity and resourcefulness, but, rather, is founded on a strict principle. We may formulate it thus: Everything necessary for the interpretation

3. Cp. *M. Bh.* III p. 174 l. 2. f: *upadiṣṭāni...*: *uccāritāni...diśir uccāraṇakriyaḥ*: "*upadiṣṭāni*...means 'pronounced'...the root *diś* signifies the action of pronouncing."

of Pāṇini can be found in the Bhāṣya. We have no right to make any assumptions or to use any devices for which there is no authority in that great work Rather, we have to concentrate our efforts on ascertaining the true and final views of Patañjali. In pursuing this admittedly difficult task we must take, above all, his statements at their face value and refrain from twisting the plain sense of his words into what would suit our own purposes.

The overwhelming success with which Nāgojī vindicates his principle is, of course, largely due to the acumen by which he shows, in every single instance, that not only are all the later assumptions and devices unnecessary, but they must be often also logically or technically incorrect, while Patañjali's view is unimpeachable. For the sake of brevity, I have left this side of the question somewhat in the background. We are here chiefly interested in the principle. We may even leave it open whether Nāgojī is really always right : later commentators do not accept all his statements and, sometimes, even return to former views. I will only mention that in his scholastic endeavor to justify Patañjali, Nāgojī occasionally falls in the same mistake as Kaiyaṭa. Thus, if he makes Patañjali on vārtt. 5 on Pāṇ. 1. 3. 3 use the expression *ekaśeṣa* to mean *tantra*, because the assumption of *hal* in Pāṇ. 1. 3. 3 standing by '*ekaśeṣa*' (Pāṇ. 1. 2. 64) for *hal ca hal ca* would be objectionable logically just as much as Kaiyaṭa's assumption of a *dvandva* '*hal-l*'.

Nāgojī's principle is that, in explaining Pāṇini, we have to rely on the Bhāṣya, and the Bhāṣya only. For this principle Nāgojī fights in his three works (the *Uddyota*, the *LS* and the *PŚ*,) ; it is actually their only motive This principle has a theoretical justification, which Nāgojī traces back—characteristically—to the Bhāṣya itself. The chief passage defending his theoretical position is his commentary on the first *paribhāṣā*, which runs :

vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir na hi saṁdehād alakṣaṇam

"The specific sense [of an expression in a *śāstra*] is obtained from interpretation. For there cannot be [assumed to be given a definition which is a] non-definition [just] because there is a doubt [as to its specific sense]."

Translated thus, in what I may call a naive and straightforward manner, it would voice a principle that any modern philologist would follow. In interpreting a given text, our basic assumption is that the author means to make sensible statements and to be consistent with himself. Our endeavor is to construct and understand his sentences so as to yield sense and consistency. It is, of course, the fundamental principle of Patañjali. It is hardly a chance that in the very beginning of his exegetic commentary on the Vārttika, when discussing the first word of the first vārttika : *siddhe*, he has recourse to it (I p. 6 l. 26).

If we put the question here as to what he actually means by *vyākhyāna*, it would appear that it is something very similar to, if not quite identical with, what we understand by "interpretation".

Patañjali has pointed out (I. p. 6, ll. 17-20) that, firstly, *siddha* is a synonym of *nitya* "eternal", as may be ascertained from its being used with reference to things that are "fixed" (*kūṭastha*)[4] and "immovable" (*avicālin*) like "heaven", "earth" and "space", but that, secondly, it is also used in the sense of "well made, made ready" with reference to things "that must be produced" (*kārya*) like "gruel", "soup", or "porridge". How, then, are we to know, that Kātyāyana in his first vārtt uses *siddha* in the sense of "eternal" (l. 20 f.) ? We may give different answers :

1. We may say that in another grammatical work, the Saṁgraha,, *siddha* must have been used as "eternal" as, here, it appears as the opposite or *kārya*. We may assume that Kātyāyana has followed the usage of the Saṁgraha (l. 21 f.).

2. We may say that Kātyāyana has used *siddha* instead of *siddha eva*, which would mean "only well finished", that is "not to have to be well finished (*sādhya*)". There are analogies for such usage (l. 22-24).

3. We may, further, say that Kātyāyana has said *siddha* instead of *atyantasiddha* "strictly *siddha*", as we can say e. g. *Datta* instead of *Devadatta* (l. 24 f.).

We need not, however, go to all this trouble. In reality it is not necessary either to refer to the Saṅgraha (answer 1), or to make any special linguistic assumption (answer 2 and 3). We shall, by applying *paribhāṣa* 1, "find out by interpretation": *athavā 'vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir alakṣaṇam' iti vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* (1. 26 f.). In distinguishing '*vyākhyāna*' from the procedures he has tried first (answer 1-3), Patañjali obviously means to say : Since it is an established fact that *siddha* may be used both in the sense of "eternal" and in that of "made ready, well done" and, hence, there may arise a doubt (*sandeha*) as to the sense in which Kātyāyana uses the word in his first vārttika, we have to look at the context of the whole first vārtt. (*siddhe śabdārthasambandhe... śāstreṇa dharmaniyamaḥ...*) and to ascertain from the fact that it yields a consistent sense, only if we take *siddha* in the sense of *nitya*, that it is indeed used in this sense[5].

4. *Kūṭastha* in the MBH always beside *avicalin* (cp. Pathak and Chitras, Word Index). Cp. *Bhag. Gīta* 12. 3 *kūṭastham acalam.* See also Edgerton' note on *Bhag. Gīta* 6. 8 (Harv. Or. Ser. 38 p. 1 8).

5. Both Kaiyata and Nāgojī seem to miss Patañjali's point by bringing in, at this stage of the discussion, the dogma of the eternal nature of speech sound. They can hardly be right as "the eternal nature of the words etc." (*nityatvaṁ śabdadīnām*: Kaiy.) or "the eternal natur of the words, the meanings and their connection" (*padārthasaṁbandhānāṁ nityatvam:* Nāg.) is not yet considered to

P.T.O.

We might say that the application of this kind of *vyākhyāna* "interpretation from the context" is so self-evident as to make it unnecessary to mention it. Ordinarily we do not say, when explaining or translating an author of antiquity: I have, in each instance, taken his words in that sense which allows me to understand his sentences consistently.

Yet, Patañjali, when dealing with Pāṇini—and not any longer with Kātyāyana—seizes the first opportunity to wring from his author a special permission to "interpret" him.

On *SS* 6 *laṇ* he points out that Pāṇini's using the *anubandha* *ṇ* twice (once in *SS* 1, *a i u-ṇ* and once in *SS* *la-ṇ*) would lead to ambiguities each time Pāṇini mentions the *pratyāhāra aṇ* or *iṇ*. Each time we may feel doubtful whether he wants us to understand the terms as formed with the *ṇ* of the first or the sixth *SS* (I p. 34 1. 4 f). He goes on to show that in each single case a decision becomes possible when we look closely (p. 34 1 5—p. 35 1.15). In 6 3 111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* it can be only the question of substituting "a long [vowel]" for "a vowel". Since Pāṇ explicitly says "for *aṇ*", he can only mean "for certain vowels": hence "*aṇ-as*" must be formed with the *ṇ* of *SS* 1 (p. 34 1. 5-9). In an analogous manner we are able to ascertain that Pāṇ., when saying *iṇ*, always means it to be formed with the *ṇ* of *SS* 6, and when saying *aṇ*, he means it to be formed with the *ṇ* of *SS* 1, except for 1. 1. 69, where he forms *aṇ* with the *ṇ* of *SS* 6. In this case Patañjali thinks that Pāṇini has given a special "indication" (*jñāpaka*) how 1. 1. 69 should be understood, by teaching "short *r*" (*rt*) as a substitute, as this would be necessary only if 1 1 69 applies to *r* also, which then must, in this case, be included in the *pratyāhāra aṇ*. That is: *aṇ* in 1. 1. 69 must be formed with the *ṇ* or *SS* 6 (p. 35 1. 6-10).

Only after discussing each single instance and finding out how each rule involved can be shown to be unambiguous, Patañjali poses the question (p. 35 1.15 f.) why the *ṇ* should be used twice as an *anubandha*, and gives the answer: *etaj jñāpayaty ācāryo bhavaty eṣā paribhāṣā : vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir na hi saṁdehād alakṣaṇam iti aṇuditsavarṇam parihāya pūrveṇāṇgrahaṇaṁ pareṇeṇgrahaṇam iti vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* : "thereby the teacher (Pāṇini) makes us recognize that there exists the following maxim: 'From the interpretation etc.' We shall [consequently] interpret (i. e. find

(Continued from the last page)

be "settled" (*sthitam*· Kaly.) by Patañjali, certainly not in the Saṁgraha (*saṁgrahādau sthitam:* Nāg.). There the question was examined as a chief topic (*M. Bh.* I p 6, 1 11 f.): *tatra tv eṣa nirṇayo · yady eva nityo'thāpi kārya ubhayathāpi lakṣaṇam pravartyam* "there (in the Saṁgraha), however, the following decision [is made]: whether word is 'eternal' or 'to be produced', in both cases [grammatical] description by definition has to be undertaken" (*M. Bh.* I p. 6 1. 13 f).

out by interpretation): except in Pāṇ. 1. 1. 69 the term *aṇ* is formed with the *ṇ* of *SS* 1, the term *iṇ* is formed with the *ṇ* of *SS* 5."

I think, after examining this passage of Patañjali, it becomes obvious why he wants to have Pāṇini's specific approval for his procedure. The "interpretation" he brings to bear on Pāṇini is of a kind distinctly different from that "interpretation from the context" he uses when dealing with Kātyāyana. This latter is simple and does not need any special justification. So, Patañjali does not tell us that Kātyāyana by using an ambiguous expression in the very beginning of his work means "to make us recognize" that we are free to apply it, but finds out another motive for Kātyāyana using the word *siddhi* (p 6 1 27-p. 7 1.7) The *vyākhyāna* which Patañjali applies to Pāṇini may also be called "an interpretation from the context," but it strains the possibilities that would offer themselves by the application of this principle to the utmost. It is in fact a 'technical interpretation,' which at every step has recourse to assumptions that are by no means obvious and self-evident and which is developed here into a special art that requires the skill of a virtuoso In the context of Patañjali on *SS* 6 *vyākhyāna* means: "technical interpretation which consists in applying the principles laid down in special *paribhāṣās* and in making use of all kinds of artful devices, as the assumption of a *jñāpaka*, a *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* etc., which have been developed by the exegetic efforts of the Pāṇinīyas."

With Kaiyaṭa "*vyākhyāna*" is something still more elaborate. Commenting on the sentence of Patañjali on *SS* 6 '*vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ*' (p 35 1. 16 f) he says: *nyāyād āgamād vā śabdaśaktir anusaraṇīyety arthaḥ* "the meaning is: the force [i e. the possible meaning, the sense] of an expression has to be found out (lit. 'followed', i e. 'hunted down like a dear by the hunter') from reasoning (*nyāya*) or tradition (*āgama*)." By *nyāya* Kaiyaṭa must mean, broadly speaking, what we stated to be the sense of *vyākhyāna* in Patañjali[6] By *āgama* he can hardly understand

6. More precisely: it is the application of the "means of cognition" (*pramāṇa*) "inference" (*anumāna*), whereas *āgama* contains "revelation" (*śruti*) in so far as it goes back by unbroken tradition (*paramparā*) to revelation received by Pāṇini. Both these "means of cognition" have to supply what cannot be learnt from understanding the "immediately perceptible" (*pratyakṣa*) sense. Cp. for example the confrontation of *ānumānika* "established by inference" and *pratyakṣasiddha* in PŚ p. 45 1 10 Kaiyaṭa's conception becomes quite clear from *Pradīpa* on Pat. I p. 6 l 23 f. (*athavā ..vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*) . nyāyād vā '*nityatvaṃ śabdādīnāṃ sthitam*' *ity āha* . *athaveti* "Patañjali says *athavā ..vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* [meaning]: or rather [we shall interpret] from reasoning, [knowing] that the eternal nature of the words is settled " *na hi saṃdehād alakṣaṇatā bhavati*, *punaḥ pramāṇāntareṇa nirṇayotpādat*: "[Patañjali, by saying: *na hi saṃdehād alakṣaṇam* means.] there does not, because there is a doubt [as to the *pratyakṣa*-sense], exist a 'non-definition', but [on the contrary, there does exist a definition], since a decision [on the doubtful point] can be correctly obtained by another 'means of cognition [*anumāna* or *śruti*, in this case by *anumāna*]" P.T.O.

anything else but *upadeśaparamparā* (this Nāgojī's gloss in the Uddyota): "the traditional teaching". That is to say: he is of opinion that in interpreting Pāṇini we are entitled to make use also of what former teachers, who can be looked upon as authoritative, have stated to be the meaning of a formulation. There is an "uninterrupted chain" (*paramparā*) of teaching reaching back to Pāṇini. Amongst such teachers he would count scholars like the authors of the *Kāśikā* or Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Nyāsa.

It is precisely this which Nāgojī will not accept as the sense of "*vyākhyāna*" as applied to Pāṇini. The *upadeśaparamparā*, he would maintain, is of no value, as soon as it disagrees with an explicit statement or an implicit opinion of the Bhāṣya. This is implied by his procedure in all his grammatical treatises. He never hesitates to disagree with representatives of the *upadeśaparamparā*—be they such highly renowned scholars as Kaiyaṭa or Bhaṭṭojī—when he thinks that they deviate from what has been explicitly laid down or implied by Patañjali. Nor would Nāgojī hold that in dealing with Pāṇini we are to follow our own "logical reasoning[7]": on the contrary, again we have to rely on the Bhāṣya. This is the reason why, in commenting on traditional list of the *paribhāṣās*, he takes so much pain to show that those *paribhāṣās* that are not explicitly formulated or, at least, indicated or implied by some procedure of the Bhāṣya have "no authority" and can be dispensed with. For the same reason he refutes the assumption of every single *jñāpaka*,[8] *vyavasthitavibhāṣā*[9] or any other device that has been introduced into Pāṇini interpretation without the support of Patañjali.

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Since Nāgojī does not want, as will be shown presently, the *vyākhyāna* to have to do with *nyāya*, he construes Kaiyaṭa's *nyāyāt* with *sthitam*. *vṛddhavyavahārād eva padārthasambandhānām nityatvam sthitam iti* "[the sense of Kaiyaṭa's sentence *nyāyāt sthitam* is:] '[from reasoning by inference] from the behaviour of old people [who talk precisely as we do] the eternal nature of word, meaning and their connection is settled'." For the rest of his comment see below, Note 7.

7. This we may apply when dealing with Patañjali, cp. Nāgojī's remark on Kaiyata on *MBh* I p. 35 l 16 (below p. 60). When dealing with the interpretation of Kātyāyana, Nāgojī seems careful to avoid the term *nyāya* in Uddyota on Kaiyaṭa on Pat. I p 6 l 26 f. He reconstructs Kaiyaṭa's sentence, which would imply a *nyāyād vyākhyānam* with regard to Kātyāyana (cp. above Note 6). He rather distinguishes a *niryuktikam vyākhyānam* "an interpretation without 'fittingness' (i.e. 'an assumption, which makes the statement to be in fitting')", "from which contradictory results may be obtained with equal right, from a different (i.e. *sayuktikam*) *vyākdyānam*, which would be that used by Patañjali in explaining Kātyāyana's *siddha*. It is "with fittingness" in so far as it is based on the principle of the eternal nature of the words etc., which, on its part, is derivable from *nyāya*. Also according to my own interpretation, Patañjali's *vyākyāna* could be called *sayuktika*. I differ from Nāgojī only in referring the "fittingness" not to the dogma of the eternality of the words etc, but to the context of the whole first vārttika.

8. Cp. e.g. Kielhorn, Transl. *PŚ* p. XVII.

9. Cp. e.g. Nāgojī *LŚ* on *SK* on Pāṇ. 6. 1 123, where he stablishes *bhāṣyoktātiriktavyavasthitavibhāṣāṇām apramāṇikatvam*—"the principle that there is no authority for [assuming] *vyavasthitavibhāṣās* beyond those explicitly taught in the Bhāṣya."

Nāgojī's conception of "*vyākhyāna*" is altogether different. But in order to vindicate the correctness of his view, he is forced to take a somewhat roundabout way. He seems to be in a predicament.

First of all, Nāgojī does not like Patañjali to say with reference to the establishment of *paribhāṣā* 1 : *jñāpayaty ācāryaḥ*. For this expression is ordinarily used when it is a question of what technically is called a '*jñāpaka*' (cp. Kielhorn, Translation *PŚ* p. V. f.) while the use of *ṇ* in *ŚS* 1 and 6 technically is not a *jñāpaka* in so far as it does not become *caritārtha* "fulfilling a purpose of its own" even after *paribhāṣā* 1 is accepted (Kielhorn o. c. p. V note 3). Patañjali ought to have said—not *jñāpayati* "he makes us recognise", but—*bodhayati* "he makes us aware of it." There is, I think, also a less technical reason. A *jñāpaka* "makes us recognize" a thing we cannot find out by ourselves, as for an example, the special sense in which Pāṇini has chosen to use a certain expression—e.g. the *pratyāhāra aṇ*—when he might have chosen to use it in quite a different sense as well. "We are made aware", on the other hand, of a thing we might have found out ourselves, like the principle of the first *paribhāṣā* as Nāgojī understands it. Even without Pāṇini giving a special indication, this principle would have to be accepted ; his using the *anubandha ṇ* twice is only in the nature of a friendly help ; it is a reminder for the less acute.

Secondly, Nāgojī does not want to say explicitly that Kaiyaṭa on Pat. I p. 35 l. 16 f. is wrong. For in this case it would be difficult to show by immediately persuasive arguments that his explanation is *against* the Bhāṣya. Nāgojī's view is actually supported only by his own conviction as to what the Bhāṣya must have meant, even though, as we shall see, this conviction springs from a deep insight into the character of the Bhāṣya as distinguished from any other link in the chain of the *upadeśaparamparā*.

Consequently, Nāgojī resorts to a scholastic trick, exactly of the same order which Kaiyaṭa uses so often *vis-à-vis* the Bhāṣya : he "interprets" Kaiyaṭa in such a way as to make him say what he himself, (Nāgojī), thinks to be correct. He purposely misunderstands him, in order to avoid letting him take a wrong view on this important point[10] This procedure makes matters a bit difficult for us.

In his Uddyota on Kaiyaṭa's remark on Patañjali I p. 35 l. 16 f. : *nyāyād āgamād vā śabdaśaktir anusaraṇīyety arthaḥ*, which,

10. With all his criticism of Kaiyaṭa, Nāgojī remains a most generous opponent. Where ever it is possible, he tries to save Kaiyaṭa's formulation by showing it to be capable of being interpreted in a way that would yield an unimpeachable view. It would appear to have been deliberately arranged that his last sentence in *PŚ* contains a reference to a correct opinion of Kaiyaṭa.

taken at its face value, must have been meant as a paraphrase of *paribhāṣā* 1 in the way I translated above, Nāgojī makes it the answer to the question, which troubles *him* : how Pāṇini's procedure of using the *anubandha ṇ* twice could be spoken of as a *jñāpaka* : *nanu jñāpite pi pravartakatayā nivartartakatayā vā nāsya cāritārthyam ata āha 'nyāyād' iti* : "Kaiyaṭa say : '*nyāyād āyamad vā... ity arthaḥ*' in answer to the question : Can it not be said that this [procedure of affixing the same *anubandha ṇ* twice] does not fulfil a purpose of its own by either enjoining or forbidding [something specific] even after making us recognize [the principle in question]?" And after commenting on the expressions *nyāya* and *āgama* he continues : *tatsiddha evāyam artho ṇakārānubandhanarūpasvavyavahāreṇa bodhyata ity arthaḥ* 'The meaning [of Kaiyaṭa's answer to this question] is : by this [i.e. logical reasoning (*nyāya*) and tradition (*āgama*=*upadeśaparamparā*)] the following meaning [of Patañjali's expression : *taj jñāpayati* "hereby he 'makes us recognize"] is correctly established as : 'by his [the author's] procedure that consists in his using the *ṇ* as an *anubandha* [twice], we 'are made aware' [of the principle expressed by paribhāṣā 1]."

There is one last stumbling block to be removed. Nāgojī does not want to understand Patañjali's *vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* (I p. 35 l. 18) as a reference to the exegetical procedure he has adopted when dealing with the rules containing the *pratyāhāras aṇ* and *iṇ* (I p. 34 l.5-p. 35 l.15); '*vyākhyāna*' should mean something different. Hence he goes on to say: *evam ca vyākhyānenaiva pūrvaṇakāreṇa kecit, [kecit]*[11] *paraṇakāreṇeti nirṇaye jñāpakānusaraṇakleśo vṛtheti sūcitam* "and thus [i. e. by Patañjali's remark I p. 35 l. 15-18] a hint is given that only by interpretation is it decided that certain *pratyāhāras*, [of the form *aṇ*] are formed with the *ṇ* of *ŚS* 1, and certain *pratyāhāras*, [of the form *aṇ* and *iṇ*] are formed with the *ṇ* of *ŚS* 6, the trouble of hunting for '*jñāpakas*' [as it was done in the preceding passage] is futile. The same view is expressed in *PŚ* on *paribhāṣā* 1 (ed. Kielhorn, p. 1 l. 12) :... *ācārayavyavahāreṇa saṃdehanivṛtter vyākhyānātiriktanimittānapekṣatvam bodhyata iti yāvat* : "this amounts to it that by the procedure of the *ācārya*...we are 'made aware of it' that the removal of a doubt [as to the precise sense of an expression used by Pāṇini] depends on no other means but 'interpretation'."

If, them, *vyākhyāna* is distinct from, and opposed to, "hunting for *jñāpakas*", or, more generally speaking, to argumentation based on the assumption of technical devices and logical maxims, what is it then ? Nāgojī gives us his view in his explanation of *paribhāṣā* 1 in *PŚ*. He glosses the expression of the *paribhāṣā* : *vyākhyānato* by *vyākhyānācchiṣṭakṛtāt* "from the interpretation

11. All editions read *kecit* only once, which makes the sentence difficult, if not incapable, of construction.

made by the learned." Kielhorn did not grasp the full purport of this terse, but momentus formulation. Most certainly, Nāgojī does not mean by "vyākhyāna" that simple and elementary "*vyākhyānam ṣaḍvidham*" defined by the little verse referred to by Kielhorn, Transal. p. 2 note 1. And most certainly, Nāgojī does not mean by *śiṣṭa* "the author of the Bhāṣya and others" as suggested by Kielhorn o. c. p. 2 note 3. He simply cannot think of learned men in general, of scholars like Kaiyaṭa and Bhaṭṭojīdīkṣita. It is just the "interpretation" of such rightly renowned scholars he so often thinks" to have to be "looked upon with suspicion" (*cintya*) in "truly interpreting" Pāṇini. It seems evident that by *śiṣṭa* he means those learned Brahmins of Āryāvarta, whom Patāñjali represents as the "*śiṣṭa*" in a characteristic context. It is a passage just as beautiful as it is interesting.

The *śiṣṭa*, Patañjali says (III p. 174 1.4 f.), are not just "grammarians". Brahmins are recognized as *śiṣṭa* from their home (*nivāsa*) and their [modest, righteous, unselfish and studious] conduct (*ācāra*) (*nivasata ācārataś ca* 1. 6 f.). This conduct exists only in Āryāvarta (*sa cācāra Āryāvarta eva* 1. 7) :

etasminn Āryanivāse ye brāhmaṇāḥ kumbhīdhānyā alolupā agṛhyamāṇakāraṇāḥ kiṃcidantareṇa kasyāścid vidyāyāḥ pāragās tatrabhavantaḥ śiṣṭāḥ.

"Those Brahmins [who live] in this home of the Aryans, whose grain is in [only one] earthen vessel, who are not greedy, who do not seize upon a cause[12], who have, on account of[13] something or other (i.e. not necessarily for the purpose of learning Sanskrit), gone to the end of some science or other [not necessarily of the science of grammar] -- those venerable ones are the *śiṣṭa*."

A *śiṣṭa* would use correct words even without having studied grammar, for his is a "favour of fate or a particular nature" : *daivānugrahaḥ svabhāvo vā* (1. 13). The *śiṣṭas* are authority with regard to correct speech usage (*śiṣṭāḥ śabdasya pramāṇam* 1. 10). It is from them that we can find out those details that are not unambiguously or not at all taught in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. This is the

12. The specific sense of the expression is difficult to gauge. R. G. Bhandarkar, Collected Works Vol IV p. 582 paraphrases : "who do good disinterestedly". It might also be : "who do not seize upon a cause [for studying the Veda]" i. e. who consider the study of the Veda a *niṣkaraṇa dharma* (cp. Patañjali I p. 1 l. 18 f), or: "a cause [for wrath etc.]" (cp. *Kāraṇakopa* "having wrath with a cause", see Apte, Dict.), or "a cause [for partiality]" (cp. Manu-Smṛti 8. 347 *mitrakāraṇāt*) or "a cause [for suing somebody by law]" (cp. *kāraṇavādin* "plaintiff")

13. (Cp. Apte s. v. *antareṇa* b). Bhandarkar l. c. : "without any effort." I find it difficult to accept this *Antareṇa* "without" is used by Patañjali in hundreds of places and everywhere the accusative construed with it follows, unless it be a relative pronoun (*MBh* II p. 388 1. 15). Especially frequent is *antareṇa yatnam* "without effort", which shews also that we should have at least *kaṃcit*.

meaning of the expression *yathopadiṣṭam* in Pāṇ 6. 3. 109, *upadiṣṭam* having to be paraphrased : *śiṣṭair uccāritāni* "used in speech by the *śiṣṭa*, i.e. the Brahmins of good conduct living in Āryāvarta" (l. 2-4).

When, in the Uddyota on Pat. I p. 35 l. 15-18, opposing *vyākhyāna* to *jñāpakānusaraṇakleśa* and, in the *PŚ*, explaining the expression *vyākhyānatas* of *paribhāṣā* 1 as *vyākhānāc chiṣṭakṛtāt*, Nāgojī makes it quite clear that by "interpretation" he understands "the interpretation of the rules of Pāṇini in the light of the speech usage of the *śiṣṭa*". In other words, : it is a *lakṣyānusāri vyākhyā-nam* (*PŚ* p. 7 l. 18) "an interpretation that [does not hunt for *jñāpakas* by applying interpretative devices, but] hunts for that which is to be defined [by the definition (*lakṣaṇa*) of the grammar of Pāṇini], i.e. the good speech usage of the śiṣṭa]."

Nāgojī shrewdly recognized that, in explaining Pāṇini, Patañjali was in quite a different position from that of any later commentator. All the later commentators are not able to explain Pāṇini by confronting his rules with their own or others' *living* speech. They have learned Sanskrit in school and must consider correct what the grammar says. Hence they have no authority by which to settle the question whether the usage they infer by "logical reasoning" is correct. By hunting up in some way or other a *jñāpaka* they cannot establish a valid inference : *bhāṣyā-nuktajñāpitārthasya sādhutāyā niyāmakatve mānābhāvat* (*PS*. 94 l. 9 f.)" since there is no standard [that may be used] in determining the correctness of the purpose [of an expression or formulation of Pāṇini's] that is [allegedly] established by a *jñāpaka*, [but] not taught by the Bhāṣya." In contradistinction to all the later Pāṇinīyas, Patañjali knows Sanskrit as a living language. He can draw on the usage of the *śiṣṭa* of Āryāvarta. He is one of these *śiṣṭa* himself. His Sanskrit would be perfect, even if he had not happened to be a *vaiyākaraṇa*. Nāgojī, too, has to rely on the authority of some one who speaks Sanskrit not because he has learned it in school, but by "the favour of fate or his own peculiar nature [as a śiṣṭa of Āryāvarta]." This some one is for him Patañjali. His - perfectly justified—admiration for Patañjali's acumen and learning is even surpassed by his regard for him as a *śiṣṭa*, a learned Brahmin distinguished by *ācāra* and hence an authoritative and exemplary speaker of the sacred language. When Patañjali makes an assumption in interpreting Pāṇini, when he states a *vibhāṣā* to be *vyavasthitā* or a particular expression or procedure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī to be a *jñapaka*, Nāgojī feels safe in following him. For here he has "a standard, by which to determine the correctness of the purpose" : Patañjali's knowledge of the living speech.

How does Nāgojī find out that Patañjali was a *śiṣṭa* ? We may say : by following Patañjali's own hint (III p. 174 l. 14 f.) :

evam eṣā śiṣṭajñānārthāṣṭādhāyī "thus this Aṣṭādhyāyī has the purpose to [allow to] recognize a *śiṣṭa*."

I think, we can agree that Patañjali's prose deserves to be looked upon as an exemplary model. It is terse, but precise and vigorous. And if any Sanskrit prose comes near to the most vivid form of spoken language, which is free discussion, it is Patañjali's. Despite the technical intricacies involved and the scholastic nature of the topics discussed, we feel in it the breath of life. In its elliptical style, it imitates the natural ways of conversation; in the quick sequences of question, answer and counter-question, in its short sentences and its lack of cumbrous compounds it is a happy literary stylization of everyday speech. Also from a modern historical point of view we cannot but admit that Nāgojī's principle of explaining Pāṇini by trusting the guidance of Patañjali, as the one who has an authoritative command of Sanskrit as a spoken language, rather than that of Kaiyaṭa or Bhaṭṭoji, is perfectly legitimate. Nāgojī's *vyākhyānam* is, if not in every detail, yet in its fundamental orientation, even when looked at from a purely historical standpoint, "well established" : *siddham*.

LINGUISTIC REMARKS ON THE *PAIPPALĀDA* VERSION OF THE ATHARVAVEDA

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Time has not come, if it ever will, for an exhaustive study of the *P(ai)pp(alāda)* text. Too many features remain, and will probably remain uncertain, both in its interpretation and the verbal transmission. It is already difficult to distinguish between what is a mere corruption (auditory or graphical) of an original text common to *Ppp.* and to the vulgate, and what is an authentic tenor.

But, even if we understood the whole of *Ppp.* and had a reliable text, the contribution of this version would not appear very important, neither from the standpoint of the substance, nor from that of the form. The portions that are common with Śaunaka present variants which generally testify the Vedic indifference in the matter of textual stability, rather than the eagerness to put new and significant forms; they stand on the same plane as the whole of Vedic variants. Linguistic tendencies brought out by them have little constancy, except for one, that has been disclosed long ago, and is, as one knows, the adaptation to the reading of the *Ṛgveda.*

The independent portions (hymns or fragments of hymns, sometimes isolated stanzas) are comparatively numerous, but in general they add little to our knowledge of Atharvanic ideas. They are often mere duplications of topics that are already known from Ś.; few original elements are supplied by *Ppp.* to the large speculative poems of the vulgate.

We shall content ourselves here only with mentioning some linguistic facts, without endeavouring to be complete, or ignoring the uncertainty that bears on most of the forms to be quoted.[1]

From the point of view of phonetics, the softening of guttural is attested in *gr̥ṣṭi* = *kr̥ṣṭi* 5.6, 7 ; 17. 1, 5 ; 17. 4, 11 (again Ś. itself gives *gr̥ṣṭi* 2 .13, 3 ; 19. 24, 5, the *Ppp.* having *k°* at the corresponding passages) ; in *gāṣṭhā* 2. 4, 3 = *kāṣṭhā* (S.'s MSS. also present the voiced initial). Cf. also *tagarī* 20. 25, 10 ; 20, 26, 2 facing *TS. KS. takarī.* Variations of this kind are well known through all Vedic *mantras.* Cf. also *vivyajmi* (*viviȷmi*) quoted below p. 66.

1. We only give the reconstructed forms, as the original ones are easy to find through Barret's or Raghu Vira's edition.

The wavering between *y/iy* (*v/uv*) reflects itself at the joint of compound-members; cf. *triyāyuṣam* 2. 59, 5 (Ś. *try°*); *cārvāc* and *cārvadana* 20. 28, 10 (beside *cārusaṁkāśin*) for *cāru-vāc* and *°vadana*.

In *gulgulu*, the *Ppp*. maintains (as *TS*. and other texts) the group of consonants, to wit 2. 20, 2; 2. 21, 6; 13. 4, 3, the group that is assimilated by *Ś* (with some other texts) into *guggulu* (also *Ppp*. 8. 10, 3; but the MSS. are in variation). Inversely, *Ppp*. *churādinī* 17. 14, 10 goes back to a distinct group *kṣ*(*ura°*); *chāhi* and *chātaḥ* 16. 64, 5 may only be a phonetic variant of Ś. *psāhi* and *psātaḥ*.[1] Cf. again *ukṣantu* 3.20, 4; 7. 6, 6 (Ś. *uchantu*, with vacillation).

Verbal forms present the newest developments. Thus, at first, on the side of the secondary conjugation: If the desiderative is but weakly innovating, *rivitsamāna* 4. 20, 7 is new, but commonplace; *lipsāmi* 5. 34, 2 is confirmed by Ś. *upalipsamāna*, whose *Ppp*. counterpart is *abhilipsamāna* 16. 50, 3.[2] On the other hand the reduplicate aorist, already very much developed by Ś., becomes more common in the *Ppp*.: *upa tītapanta* 19. 11, 6 (Ś. *tītapāsi*, *RV* *atītape*); *rīradhāsi* 20. 12, 4 (*RV*. *rīradhat*); *arīramam* 20. 33, 4 and *arīramaḥ* 19. 32, 17 (*RV*. *rīramat*); *abhi...avivṛṣat* 1. 11, 3 (?) 8. 18, 2; *sam...avīvanam* 19. 19, 6 and *sam avīvanan ib* 7; *abhi jigrahaḥ* 16. 46, 1 sqq.; *avājijvalan* 20, 56, 2; *abhimarīmṛśat* 19. 35, 10, *aoīkṛtaḥ* 13. 13, 1 a. 2 (wrong form from *kṛ*-?); *ajījarat* 11. 2, 1 (from *jṛ*–"to grow old"). Likewise the intensive: *totudyete* 2. 87, 4; *sāsahīti* 13. 14, 12; *ākanikradam* 1. 55, 1 (cf *RV*. *kanikranti*, *kanikradat*); *sesicam* 20. 59, 1 (?). But *amomuhan* 19. 38, 13 is highly doubtful, *amūmuhan* being expected (Ś. *amūmuhat*; id. *Ppp*. 20. 52, 1-4); doubtful again are *anenaśam* 1. 16, 4 and *ayoyujan* 12. 6, 2. The imperative *jañjabhi* 20. 38, 2 could theoretically contain a phonetical treatment for the sequence *jabh*-(*h*)*hi*, but that would be without parallel (except, and far away, *RV*. *barbṛhi* if from *bṛh*.[3] Lastly, there is *bebhrīyamāṇa* 5. 22, 6, as an epithet of *bhṛṣṭi*, whose radical unusual aspect is indirectly confirmed by *bhrīyamāṇa* 4. 14, 7. A strange nominal derivative is *vijarbhara* 20. 45, 1.

A passive of the causative appears for the first time in personal forms, with *abhi śrāpyetām* 16. 71, 1.

The present forms in *–āy*(*a*)– are represented by *mṛḍāyiṣyati* 5. 21, 7 (but the future-affix obliges us to rank the form among the denominatives), *viṣkambhāy*– 20. 26, 5 a. 6 (a recasting of *RV*. Ś. *skabhāy*–), *prāvicchāyat* 6. 3, 1 (according to Barret

1. *Chā*- is actually used after preverbs only and the present-form is *chyati*.

2. At Ś., 20th k., *līpsethāḥ* (Whitney, index) is note borne out by the MSS.; *api nikṣata* 5 9, 8 may hardly be the desiderative corresponding to Ś. *sahyata*; there is in the Atharvanic tradition a verbal stem *nikṣ*—"to kill".

3. Can *jañjābha* be considered as a perfect of the intensive (1. 45, 3)?

"prest forth, brought out"), from a verbal stem attested in the Vedic prose (cf. my *Skt Grammar* p. 398 at the bottom) as well as in *Pāṇini* : it is one of the points where the *Ppp.* anticipates the posterior use.

Among other denominatives we have (1) *bhāmet* 3. 10, 6 ; a preferrable reconstruction for this root, merely vouched for by the *dhātuvṛttis*, would be *bhāmeta*; (2) *bhiṣajāti* 2. 10, 2 (which, if authentic, may be a case of a double-indexed conjunctive, related to *RV. bhiṣakti* ; or an error for *RV. bhiṣajyati* ?), (3) *astrāyitā* (an epithet of *iṣu*) 19. 18, 3 ; the personal form *astrāyate* is warranted in late classical literature.

Innovations are to be found almost in all verbal categories. Perfects with radical vocalism –e–, already slightly increasing in Ś. (compared with the *RV.*), are further instanced by (*upa* ?) *pedima* 9. 22, 11 and by the difficult *nir emiṣe ib.* 15 a. 5. 36, 7 (in this last occurrence, near *samāmiṣe*, *vyāmiṣe*, *rebhiṣe*) ; if *emiṣe* emanates from *am*–, the form in any case has only an illusory support in *RV. emuṣ* (*am*).

Sigmatic aorists, specially those of the "*seṭ*"-type, are frequent ; cf (1) *samindhiṣīmahi* 20. 56, 8 (cf. Ś. *edhiṣīmahi*), (2) *rociṣīya* 18. 32, 5 (which, according to the whole formation, is more correct than the variant *ruc*° of Ś.), (3) *vraścīḥ* 5. 3, 6, (4) *abhyakrandīt* 16. 21, 5, (*RV. akrān*), (*pra*...*astāviṣam* 2. 87, 4 (*RV. stoṣam, astoṣi* ; the inflection with –*iṣ*– is post-mantric), (6) *vidhīḥ* 10. 10, 2 ; 16. 152, 11 (from *vyadh*–, but quite uncertain). (*Mā*) ghāniṣṭhāḥ 16. 36, 6 (if it is not a mechanical variant for Ś. *kṣaniṣṭhāḥ*) would be of peculiar interest : it would mean the oldest instance of the verbal forms on a *ghāni*-base, like Pat. *aghāni*, *ghāniṣyate* ; see my *Skt Gramm.* p. 466

The *s*–aorist is testified by (1) *nir bhākṣīt* 19. 46, 6 (*RV. bhāk*) ; (2) *prāhaiṣīḥ* 8. 16, 11 (Ś. *ahait*), (3) *ehaitsi* 20. 48, 5 (but the MS. has *ehitsi*) ; (4) *ava svāpsīt* 9. 25, 16 ; 20. 61, 8 ; (5) *abhaitsam* 9. 6, 6 (facing *bhitthāḥ* in a Yajurvedic *mantra*) ; (6) (*a*)-*tyākṣam* 3. 40, 5 ; 19. 48, 10, (7) *prati*.. *atutsi* 1. 87, 3 a. 4 ; perhaps also *udayuṣmahi* 19. 42, 4.

The precative, already frequent in common AV. is common, *jīyāsam* 19. 53, 13-15 (*jīvyāsam* 54, 11-14 is also found in S.; and *puṣyāsma* 20. 56, 8, as well as *kriyāsam* 20. 53, 2 *kriyāsma* 20. 36, 6. *Abhirudhyāsan* 19. 43, 2 a. 3 is extremely doubtful.

We have now to consider a form difficult to classify, viz *anu prajñeṣva* 6. 22, 11, which would complete the paradigma in –*esan* –*eṣma*. This form is attested by the *mantras*, and for it we have a new instance in *anuprajñeṣma* 3. 38, 9 (cf. *jñeṣam* S.).

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Two *-sa*-aorists are : (1) *abhidrukṣat* 10. 11, 10, which would also attest the non-transference of the aspiration on the initial, as it is the rule in the RV. ; and (2) *adhyarukṣata* 20. 56, 1 (again *adhy arukṣat* 16. 150, 10 *avārukṣat* 14. 2, 2). An asigmatic aorist is *prāpantu* 4. 40, 5; it belongs to the same inflection as *RV. āpat*.

Unusual radical present forms are : (1) *abhy anudeṣṭu* 5. 11, 5; *vinejmi* 19. 14, 9 (to read *ninejmi* with Barret, or *nenejmi* with the *dhātuvṛttis*, cf. *RV. nenikte* ?) ; (2) *jigīmahe* 9. 10, 10 (from *gā-* "to go", which Barret compares with *mimīte*,, but the middle voice by itself is unusual, (3) *vi snuhi* 14. 3, 26 (?) *Vivijmi* 20. 36, 1 (MS. *vivajmi*, a variant of *MS. viryāca* in the corresponding *mantra*) is probably to be read as *viryajmi*, a reading adopted by Barret 2. 28, 1 (MS. *vijmi*). The formula for both the passages is *viśvam vivyajmi pṛthivī́ṃ pustam* "like the Earth, I spread every prosperity" ; so it appears to be, with a sonorisation of the occlusive (as *pṛṇajmi ĀpŚS.* 12. 28, 16 for *pṛṇacmi* and the like), the same root that in the *RV.* gives *avivyak* and similar forms.[1] A new nasal formation is *upa limpatu* 2. 81, 2 (if correct), which is attested only after the *mantra* period.

An instance of the present form ending in *ire* is to be seen : *vi tanvire* 16. 66, 5 (cf. *RV. sunvire*, *śṛṇvire*, etc.) ; this form was taken as a perfect, the more so as the correlative form in Ś. is *tatnire*.

More important, if it were certain, would be the middle opt. *hvayīta* 16. 90, 3 : this would be the most ancient example of the *ī*-optatives on thematic bases, which later on became more common. Inversely, the thematization is in progress with *pyāyet* 3. 25, 2 (*pyāyate* being known only from the *dhātuvṛttis*) and *hiṁsāt* 5. 36, *passim*[2] ; again *nilayanti* 9 25, 16 ("to disappear", said of the leaves of a tree) and perhaps *rāyanti* 15. 19. 8 (MS. *ray°*), said of the Apsaras' moving through the air.

Forms difficult to accept are reduplicated presents (?) (1) *yayātu* 9. 16, 3 and (2) *pāpāta* (2nd pl. ?) 7. 3, 9 (from *pā-*"to protect") ; thematic presents, (1) *vedāmahe* ("we know") 2. 32, 1, *āyāmahe* 3. 40, 2 (from *i-*or *yā-*?) (3) *pary āyatha* 19. 35, 1 (MS. *paryataḥ* !), (4) *prati hāyāmahe* 19. 36, 9 (from *hā-*"to abandon" ?) ; optative (?) *upāsīyāḥ* 5. 40, 8 (where the MS. reading seems preferable, *upāsīya*) ; imperfects (1) *prārdhīta*

(1) *Viddhi* 13. 11, 9 16 80, 8 and elsewhere— *vidhya* (given by Ś.) is probably a mere corruption. *Vijānāt* 16 67, 6. a variant of Ś. °*jānāt*, can be compared to the parallel form *pra minīt* of Ś. (cf. Barret ad loc.) ; it is ultimately due to the predominance of the aoristic finals in —*īt*.

(2) Or to read *hiṁsāt* ? Other finals in *-āt* (i) are very frequent in *Ppp.*, so *adhiruṣāt* 19. 36, 8, *srayāsi* 19. 19, 9, *anuṣiṣyadāti* 9. 25, 2, *nāśayāti* 11. 2, 6, *yatāte* 4. 40, 3, *upācarān* 13. 10, 12, *(abhy) aśnuvātai* 1. 70, 1 ; 1. 109, 3 *sparśayātu* 3. 28, 1, *riradhāsi*, above p. 63, *bhiṣajāti* p. 65, *grabhāti*, below p. 67, n. 1.

13. 14, 16 (MS. *prārvīta*), (2) *vyakṣ (a) ṇan* 15. 5, 5 (cf. *vy akṣṇaḥ* 19. 36, 12); future *vṛścasyāmi* (!) 1. 87, 4 : participle *āsīyāna* (ter) 19. 34, 12 (*āsīyāno 'dhi manasāsīyāno' dhi cakṣuṣā*), and many other forms, more or less unamendable. Might *pratad dīrgham āyuḥ* 1. 46, 1 a. 2 get any support from *RV. pratadvasu*, an old crux ?

Regular, but of a rare type, are (1) *aśrathni* 19. 33, 3 (2) *bhinta* 3. 31, 1-5, (3) *ni śiṇdhi* 4. 27, 4 and (4) *ati taruṣva* 2. 89, 1-5; beside *ā śayām* 5. 12, 6, common to both recensions, is to be found *ā śāyi*, a form known from the grammatical literature only. *Adhyāyet* 9. 21, *passim*, is in all respects a "recent" formation.[1]

We may point out that there are instances of the use of the periphrastic future (whose development begins with late *mantras*, cf. my *Skt. Grammar*, p. 294) in *bhavitā* 9. 18, 4 (and probably also in *hiṁsitāraḥ* of the same passage[2]) : *ye brāhmaṇaṃ hiṃsitāraḥ*- .. ...*avartimad bhavitā rāṣṭram eṣām* "those who outrage a Brâhman, their kingdom shall be a prey to misfortune". The use of *mā* with the optative (*mā...bhāmet* 3. 10, 6) remains as an oddity in spite of the isolated precedent ; RV *mā bhujema*.

Nominal inflection does not give scope to so many remarks. The Atharvanic verb is much more archaic and prone to eccentricities than the noun. We may confine ourselves in noting the Gen. pl. *nṛṇām* 2. 10, 4, whereas in the *mantras* long vocal *ṛ* is generally not written in that form. Cf. again *kṣubhyaḥ* 15. 21, 9.

Nominal derivatives lend to diverse observations. We can safely ignore *tṛtīyeka* 1. 32, 5 ; 4. 24, 1 ; 20. 57, 8, as a mere corruption of *tṛtīyaka*, which is given by Ś. in the corresponding passages and by *Ppp.* itself at other places ; likewise *śābaleya* and *śroṇeya* 5. 34, 8 ; 19. 58, 1, although a little more plausible (as equivalents of *śābalīya* and *śroṇīya*, restituted by Barret, that are words, one from the *gaṇas*, one not attested at all), are doubtless also corruptions.

Taruṣayiṣṇu 1. 45, 2 enlarges the Vedic stem *taruṣ* (*a*)-by a suffix-(*ay*)*iṣṇu*--which is in marked favour in the *AV*, (Wackernagel-Debrunner . II. 2 p. 929) and is to be found again in *ropayiṣṇu* 5. 28, 2 "lacerating", *harṣayiṣṇu* 1. 45, 2 "(fever) making hair to stand on end" ; *patayiṣṇu* 8. 8, 2 ; 9. 8, 1 is already Ṛgvedic ; *amariṣṇu* 20. 48, 10 is perhaps for *amaviṣṇu*, also a

1. Cf. also *kṣīyati* 6. 3, 8 (from *kṣi*–"to destroy"), *grabhati* 3. 22, 2 (MS. *grbhāti*), *jāgrata* (2nd pl.) 1. 14, 1 (Ś. has the correct form *jagṛta* ; *(ud) harmi* 5. 26, 9; 19. 35, 12 is inspired by the *RV*.

2. Form of *dhātuvṛttis* only ; note the accusative object. Other doubtful forms are *darśitāsi* 20. 41, 4 and *sanitāsi* 20. 53, 1 *kartāsi* 2, *vettāsi* 3 (*bhūtāsi* 4, for *bhavitāsi*), *yaktāsi* 2. 37, 1 (from *yaj*–).

Ṛgvedic form, although, at the said passage, the precise variants are *RV. namayiṣṇu*, VS. *yamayiṣṇu*,

The participial derivation in–*uka*–, whose beginning is marked by the *AV.* (Wackernagel.Debrunner II. 2 p. 480), may claim the forms *ardhuka* (which is known as yet from the *ŚB.* only) 10. 9, 3 and *pramāyuka* 16. 120, 1, with the typical predicate *bhavati*: *pramāyuka* is confirmed by the *VV.* prose and by *apramāyuka* of Ś.

The formation in–(*āy*)*u*–is attested in *kṛṣāyu* 9. 10, 11 (an epithet of the "plough-bullocks"), in *sanāyu* 11. 2, 11 beside *dhanāyu*, the first of these forms being Ṛgvedic, the second one Yajurvedic too.

Of doubtful authenticity is the derivative *capsati* 16. 46, 9 from an uncertain radical base (beside *capsā*) and with the rare final in –*ati*-(also in *aṅkati* 8. 12, 6): the passage belongs to a sequence that gives the impression of forged words, aiming at a fictitious gradation: cf. specially *kā*[1] *ca* ..*kṣamā ca* (1), *kṣemyā ca*...*kṣitiś ca* (4), *dṛḍhā ca*.. *sudṛḍhā ca* (5), *amitiś*[2] *ca*...*nirṛtiś ca* (6), *vindac ca vindamānam ca* (7),[3] *suvita ca* . *suvitiś ca*, and ib. *vittiś ca suvittiś ca* (8), *vasuś ca pravasuś ca* (9), *rohaś ca rohac ca* (10)[4]; the development continues with 47 and 48, where specially figure the unusual formations *yacchaś ca prayacchaś ca* (47, 1).

A thematic enlargment of –*ti*– is to be found in *śīrṣaktya* 1. 45, 4; 7. 15, 6; 16. 74, 1. which *S.* answers by *śīrṣakti*; likewise *kṣetrapatya* 1. 99, 4 is probably for °*pati*, and *apatyatā* 16. 149, 7 for *apatitā* (but, in fact, the MS. already gives (*a*)*patitā*).

Glidings, not without parallel, between –*vant*– and –*mant*– are to be found in *paśuvant* 19. 53, 2 a. 3, *iṣuvant* 4. 39, 5 (*Ś.* –*mant*–), *sphātivant* 8. 11, 2, *samedhamant* 7. 12, 9 (an epithet of *varcas*), *candravatī* 19. 39, 2.

A phraseology such as *udakasyodakatram* 6. 3, 6, followed by *revattram*[5] *revatīnām*, anticipates the well-known type *tac chamyāś śamītram* of the Vedic prose (Wackernagel-Debrunner II. 2 p. 714). *Śundhyutram*...*śundhantu* (ib.) is the first instance of an internal accusative made of an abstract derivative. The internal accusative, doubtless as an "Augenblicksbildung", is again illustrated by the

1. *Kā* "earth", not being attested elsewhere, is to be added to the numerous imaginary acceptations of the interrogative nominalized pronoun.

2. *Amiti* is for *amati*: this last word is also close to *nirṛti* in *RV.* 10. 76, 4; *Ś.* 10. 2, 10.

3. A nominal use of the participle, such as in *dadac ca pradadac ca* 16. 47, 2, *dakṣas ca dakṣamāṇam ca* 16. 47, 6. Elsewhere also: *āmayat* 8. 2, 6 "illness" and *anāmayat* 10. 12, 1 (and *VS.*).

4. *Rohat* also as a participle ?

5. An unusual masculinization for *revatitvam*, or at the utmost *revatitvam*.

expression *saṁpibāmi...pibam* 5. 33. 8 and *saṁgirāmi...giram*, ib. 9 (*Ś*. flatly avoids it).

Rare feminines (or inorganic lenghtenings ?) would be *kṛṣṇavartmanī* 19. 96, 13 and *jaradaṣṭī* 3. 39, 2; 19. 20, 4.

Praviṣṭavant 11. 5, 1 [illegible] is a rare use, at so ancient a stage of the language, of the derivative in *–tavant–* (for which only one instance is quotable in the common *AV*., to wit *āśitavant* (Wackernagel-Debrunner II. 2 p. 611), and the first one in the predicative employment (plural : "five gods entered into it").

Bahvīkṛta 15. 15, 7 is an odd formation. Other rare *cvi*–forms in the *Ppp* are (1) *vātīkṛta* (already known from *Ś*. ; *vācīkāra* 14. 2, 3 is probably a corruption of the preceding word-form), (2) *phalīkuru* 17. 15, 2 and (3) °*kṛta* 16. 124, 2 a 3 (*Ś*. has already *phalīkāraṇa*).

The adverb *bhavatāttamām* 14. 3, 11 is hard to accept ; forms of that kind are confined to later language ; hardly a single form after imperative is quotable from early texts.

A peculiar fact, that develops a tendency of *Ś*., is the presence of many *vṛddhi*–derivatives whose meaning is more or less similar to that of the fundamental word-form, or not deductible by the common proceedings of derivation. Thus we have (in both versions) *brāhmaṇa* (nt.) either equivalent to *brāhman* or a reinforcement of it : sometimes the patronymic origin is still perceptible, as in *āṅgirasa*, *ātharvaṇa*, *ārṣeya*, which "increase" the meaning of *aṅgiras*, *atharvan* and *ṛṣi*. Thence comes a purely augmentative value, as in *vānaspatya* (: *vanaspati*), in *ārtava* (: *ṛtu*), in *ādhipatya* 17. 22, 2 (: *adhipati*). The *RV*. itself gives *vāji vājineyaḥ* (6. 26, 2), the °*Ppp*. extends the phrase to *sadānvāḥ sādānveyāḥ* 17. 12, 7, *pṛthivī pārthivī ca* 16. [illegible], 3, *mitraṁ ca maitraṁ ca* ib. 6, *devā daivāḥ* 15. 14, 6 (and cf. 16. 95, 7–8), *mānoś ca mānavasya ca* 1. 99, 4 (somewhat analogous are *vīraś ca vīryaṁ ca* 6. 5, 9, *indraś cendriyaṁ ca* ib 8). The derivative is felt as forming a kind of gradation with the basic term that precedes it.

But, when we come across *bhauma* (*n*) "earth" 15. 14, 3 a. *passim* (*sabhauma* 5. 15, 4), we may conclude that it represents a purely phonetic variation of the common form *bhūman*, even if it has been facilitated by the presence of real *vṛddhi*–derivatives. The same is true of *bhauman* "plenty" 6. 15, 1 ; 10. 5, 4 a. 8 ; 11. 6, 7 a. *passim*, and specially of *pauruṣa* "man", which seems to be very frequent (1. 59, 3; 2. 12, 3 ; 2. 32, 4; 3. 32, 5; 16. 59-61a. *passim* ; also *sarvapauruṣa* 6. 12, 1 *saha*° 19. 9, 13 *bahu*° 8. 18, 6 etc.). *Paurusha* is a substitute for *S*. (and *RV*.) *pūruṣa*, while *puruṣa* (with short *u*) remains intact. We have in the same manner *aupaśa* 1. 64, 6 (cf. also *VS*. *svaupaśa*), *daurbhūti* 5. 26, 3 and the

sequence *sauvīrya*, *sauvarcas*, *sautejas*, *saunṛmṇa*, *sauśukra* 2. 47, where a true *vṛddhi* has no place ; lastly *aikahāyana* in the formula 9. 22, 4; 16. 130, 1 is for *eka°*, given by *TS.* Inversely the *Ppp.* (like the *RV.*) restores into *su°* the form *sauprajāstva* of *Ś.* 2. 29,3.[1]

One does not exactly know what credit to put to such a formation like *jīnas* ("misery' Barret) 8. 15, 4 (plur.), or like *yopsin* ("hurtful" Barret ; an epithet of *yakṣma*) 5. 16, 4, or like the feminine *uṣasī* 13. 12, 12 (known from classical lexicons).[2]

Compounds in *°devatya*, that are typical of Vedic prose, are illustrated by *pitṛdevatya* 15. 12, 2. Nevertheless *Ś.* has perhaps already *rohiṇīdevatya* (cf Wackernagel-Debrunner II. 2 p. 807).

Other peculiarities concerning nominal composition are the following : there is an increase of anterior members with the keeping of the locative final : *udakeṣu* 15. 18, 10, *hṛdayeṣṭha* 19. 28, 14; 20. 26, 1, *agreṣṭhā* 20. 4?, 4 (*agneṣṭha* 20. 53, 7 is certainly a corruption of the preceding form), *āsyeja* 9. 11, 4, *bandhaneṣṭha* 4. 20, 6, *bhūmaneṣṭhā* 5. 2, 1— a variant of *S. bhuvane°*—, *teṣṭhā* ib. 6 (*S. ṛta°*), *parepura* 4. 24, 1 (an epithet of *takman*, equivalent of *anyedyuḥ*), *prastareṣṭhā* 20. 34, 2. To half-compounds of this kind are to be added *asoṣpati* 1. 6, 2 (*Ś. vasoṣ°*) and the group *dakṣiṇātsad* 2. 53, 2 & 54. 1 *uttarātsad* 2. 53, 3 ; 2-54, 2 *antarikṣātsad* 2. 53, 4 ; 2 54, 4, after *paścā'sad* 2. 53, 2 & 54, 1. Lastly *sthirasthireṇa* (*sambhava*) 16. 6, 10 "be of an absolute steadiness" looks like a post-Vedic formation, as well as the adjacent expression *āhatenāhato bhava*, which seems to render the same idea in an analytic way.[3]

The most ancient example of a Dvandva with three members is *prāṇāpānavyānāḥ* 9. 21, 7. The formation *vātāpavamānau* 10. 13, 2 ; 17. 26, 2 is rather an archaism, although of a commonplace kind. The plural in *kaśipūpabarhaṇāni* 16. 111, 10, corresponding to the sing. nt.) in *Ś.*, has no chronological value[4].

We must note some terms that are known only from classical lexicons : there are (beside *uṣasī*, above-cited) *madhyanya* 9. 6, 2, *pativaṃśya* 8. 10, 10, *yomatha* 14, 4, 15, beside *vāsamatha* which evokes *RV. vastramathi*

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1. *Sraiṣṭhyatama* 7. 6, 5 is for *śreṣṭhatama* : the wrong vṛddhi has created a wrong position of the abstract. Cf. also *saunṛtā* 8. 11, 7 and, in *Ś.*, well-known forms like *aśarait*, *praiṇāna* (and *Ppp. āpraiṇe* 1. 96, 4).

2. *Apatita*, from the *Kāś.*, is documented by 16. 149, 7.

3. Cf. also *saptasaptatiḥ* 5. 32, 1 (an epithet of *pāśaḥ* "Varuna's bonds"), but probably not a compound, cf. the Ṛgvedic type *nava navatim* ; *Ś.* has the *amreḍita sapta-sapta;* elsewhere, *Ppp. sapta ..saptatis ca* 8. 16, 2 (analogous 1 a. 3).

4. *Viśvadāniyāvan* 17, 21, 2, beside *prātar°* and *sāyamyāvan*, deserves to be quoted ; cf. *TS. visvadani* as an adjective.

Dyutta 10. 12, 1, an epithet of *dyus*, is apparently distinct from *Ś dyutta* "inflamed" ; probably "given by the heaven"

Several other words recall teachings of the grammarians. Thus (besides verbal formations which have been previously quoted) we find *alavaṇa* 8. 10, 2, or, more typically, *ṣaṣṭika* and *ṣaṣṭirātra* 4. 14, 8, a popular phrase pertaining to quickly ripening rice: both forms are found in the Pāṇinean sūtra (5. 1, 90) itself. We may again quote: *ātmanīna* 5. 11, 8 (attested in late literary Sanskrit), *ubhayedyuḥ* 1. 32, 4 (attested by AB.), corresponding to *ubhaya°* *S*., *āheya* 1. 44, 4; 3. 9, 1-6 "born from the snake" (taught in Pāṇ).

Some terms have a strangely modern look: *samādhi* and *dambha*, both in the same compound 19. 52, 10; likewise, *ātmacela*[1] 5. 10, 8, with a seemingly suffixal employment of *cela* (Wackernagel-Debrunner II. 2 405).

Remarkable in diverse respects are *Kāśi* 13. 1, 12 (plur.) as a designation of a people, beside *Magadha* (*S*. has *Aṅga* instead); *dārā* "spouse" 9. 16, 3 (doubtful) and 19. 41, 5 would be a normalization of gender (fem.) and number (sing.); *kṣudrasūkta* 8. 15, 6, beside the mention of *śatarcin*, might denote the Atharvanic text or a portion of the said text[2]; *Mahābhārati* 9. 1, 9, beside *Sarasvatī, Mahī bhāratī S*, may be a veiled allusion to the Great Epic[3].

1. *Cela* is attested, in its proper meaning, in *celanāśinī* 7. 13, 7, and in 11. 7, 2; 16, 149, 10. The word is peculiar to the line Pāṇ-Mn.-MhBhār.

2 Cf. the mention of *kṣudra* (plur.) in the "table of contents" *Ś* 19. 22 and 23 (Whitney-Lanman p. CLVIII).

3. *Akṛtapūrvaṁ karoti* 16. 123, 3 is a modernism. Noteworthy also is the phrase *māṁ dadasvān manyase* 8. 16. 6. *Kṣudrāt kṣodīyasi* 15. 23, 9 (and *śivāc chivatarā*. ib. 10; analogous 8. 12, 2) is akin to expression like *yaśastaro yaśasām* of the *RV*.: they are substitutes of the superlative, based on alliterating tendencies.

A NOTE ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ACCUSATIVE AS DESCRIBED IN THE HANDBOOKS.

By

DR. J. GONDA, UTRECHT.

Historical syntax, which is generally studied on more or less traditional lines, sometimes labours under the delusion that a deficiency of incontestable facts can be made good by philosophical reasonings or speculations of a general character. Authors of books and teachers in class-rooms not seldom seem to continue in the belief of their predecessors that explanations of syntactic constructions, of their original functions and connections, are largely a matter of a sort of historical (which actually often is: pseudo-historical), "linguistics", and "philosophical" dialectics. To those who onesidedly considered the study of syntax or of the functions of word classes as an exclusively historical science, any problem arising from a plurality of functions resolved itself into a question of chronology: which function was the original one and which the derivative? They overlooked the difficulty that in those cases in which the plurality of functions already exists in our oldest sources, any discussion of historical or pre-historical priority is apt to become speculative in character. If, for instance, it appeared that the optative, in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, and other languages could from the very beginning be used to express wish as well as potentiality, the question was posed as to whether the former or the latter function was the more original; but a satisfactory solution could not be arrived at by means of the usual methods of historical linguistics. The present author cannot help wondering if it is wise to continue discussing such problems formulated in terms of quasi-historical alternatives.[1] We do not mean to deny that either the wish-expressive or the potential function of the optative may, at a certain moment in prehistorical times, have been the only then existing; it is only to express the conviction that, in the author's opinion, no well-established hypothesis can, as matters stand at present, be made in favour of either supposition.

It would ever appear that the persistent search for historical developments and chronological relations in the prehistoric period has diverted attention from the question as to whether the functions traditionally assumed for various grammatical categories really answer to any clear pre- or proto- historic distinctions. Are they

1. For particulars see the author's book *"The Character of the Indo-European Moods"*, which is to appear in 1956.

not often based on time-honoured half-logical, half-linguistic categories adopted by a long succession of philologists and philosophers ? Does a close examination of the context, in which a special construction usually occurs, not show that the label traditionally attached to it is only a convenience suited to our idiom and practical in translating ? May it really be taken for granted that the differentiations and often well pronounced features of a later period were important already in prehistoric times ? Would it therefore not be advisable to interrupt for a moment our "historical" studies and to focus our attention on the problem of the unity of the functions distinguished, of the very essence and character of those categories which are usually dealt with in syntax ? The two special handbooks on Sanskrit syntax are, as is well known, seventy years old.[1] It is therefore not surprising that both authors, in describing the functions[2] of the accusative, adopted such distinctions as accusative of the object, accusative of time and space, accusative of direction, etymological or cognate accusative and so on. In this they agree with the author of an otherwise excellent monograph on the subject, Gaedicke, who, as a product of his age, endeavoured to find out the genetical relations between these special functions of this case.[3] The uses of the accusative however agree, in the oldest documents of the main Indo-European languages, to a very great extent[4] ; it denotes the object of the transitive verb, "duration" of time, extension of distance ; it can be cognate and accompany nouns etc.—The conclusion must therefore be regarded as indisputable that this nominal category, taken and viewed as a whole had, already in the "common phase" of the Indo-European idioms, a vague and general character.

As all other authors in the field up to the present day have been under the influence of the works of Speyer and Delbrück, it may be not unreasonable even now to draw attention to some weak points in their argumentation and in their presentation of the relevant facts. In the first place the remarkable negative definition of the function of the accusative preferred by the Father of Indo-European syntax does not fail to strike the modern reader[5] : "Der Akkusativ......tritt zu der Handlung des Verbums in diejenige Beziehung, welche durch die anderen Casus nicht ausgedrückt wird", i. e. "the accusative refers to those rela-

1. J.S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden 1886 ; B. Delbrück, Halle a. S. 1888.

2. For this term see also M. Deutschbein, *Bedeutung der Kasus im Indogermanischen*, p. 146 of the Atti del III Congresso internazionale dei linguisti Roma 1935 and R. Jakobson, *Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre*, Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague VI (1936), p. 245.

3. C. Gaedicke, *Der Accusativ im Veda*, Breslau 1880.

4. Compare the survey given by K. Brugmann, *Grundriss des vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, II, Strassburg 1911, p. 61 sff.

5. Delbrück, o. c. p. 164.

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By

Dr. J. Gonda, Utrecht.

Historical syntax, which is generally studied on more or less traditional lines, sometimes labours under the delusion that a deficiency of incontestable facts can be made good by philosophical reasonings or speculations of a general character. Authors of books and teachers in class-rooms not seldom seem to continue in the belief of their predecessors that explanations of syntactic constructions, of their original functions and connections, are largely a matter of a sort of historical (which actually often is : pseudo-historical), "linguistics", and "philosophical" dialectics. To those who onesidedly considered the study of syntax or of the functions of word classes as an exclusively historical science, any problem arising from a plurality of functions resolved itself into a question of chronology : which function was the original one and which the derivative ? They overlooked the difficulty that in those cases in which the plurality of functions already exists in our oldest sources, any discussion of historical or pre-historical priority is apt to become speculative in character. If, for instance, it appeared that the optative, in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, and other languages could from the very beginning be used to express wish as well as potentiality, the question was posed as to whether the former or the latter function was the more original ; but a satisfactory solution could not be arrived at by means of the usual methods of historical linguistics. The present author cannot help wondering if it is wise to continue discussing such problems formulated in terms of quasi-historical alternatives.[1] We do not mean to deny that either the wish-expressive or the potential function of the optative may, at a certain moment in prehistorical times, have been the only then existing ; it is only to express the conviction that, in the author's opinion, no well-established hypothesis can, as matters stand at present, be made in favour of either supposition.

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tions between noun and verb which are left unexpressed by the other cases". This difficulty of defining this case appears also from the preference for enumerations of special functions—without any attempt to discover what was the general function of the case[1]—shown by other authors who in describing other cases do not hesitate to observe that they, for instance, serve to point out the destination or idea of "whence"[2]. Besides, the very enumeration of the special functions or the commentary given on these shows that the authorities are divided with regard to the essential or primary task of the accusative : Speyer and Delbrück give the first place to the accusative of direction, which, in view of the function of the dative and ablative gives, anyhow, evidence of consistency on their part. Others however prefer to regard the accusative as primarily the case of the direct object of a transitive verb.[3]

In the preliminary observations made by Delbrück himself he accordingly had to admit, implicitly as well as explicitly, the imperfections of the system of the accusative as presented in his "*Vedische Syntax*". Discussing the various uses of this case he observes, *inter alia*, that "die Begriffe des Zieles, des Inhaltes, des Objects, der Zeitdauer u. s. w. in der Grammatik nicht weiter zu definiren (sind), sondern als Realitäten anzusehen (sind), welche in der Anschaunng der sprechenden vorhanden sind (i. e. that the ideas of goal implied and direct object, duration of time etc. do not admit of a definition, but should be regarded as realities present in the mind of the speaker). But, he wisely adds : on this point difficulties will remain, because we cannot know for certain "how far we run the risk of ascribing our opinions and interpretations to antiquity". Besides. there is another cause of trouble : "auch in der Abgrenzung der einzelnen Anschauungskreise bleibt eine Schwierigkeit", it remains difficult to draw lines of demarcation between the categories adopted. There we

1. Here I find myself in harmony with R. Jakobson, who in his important article on the Russian cases (*Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre*, Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague, 1936, p 240) observes (p. 242) : "Die westlichen Sprachforscher konnten kaum beim Buchen der mannigfaltigen Verwendungen der einzelnen Kasus in antiken und fremden Sprachen mit einem entwickelten Deklinationssystem ihr eigenes sprachliche Denken zur Kontrolle heranziehen. Deshalb wurde die Frage über das Wesen solch einer vermeintlich nutzlosen Kategorie wie ein Kasus meistenteils durch mechanisches Verzeichnen seiner verschiedenen Einzelbedeutungen ersetzt".

2. Cf. e. g. Speyer, o. c., p. 29 ; the same, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Strassburg 1896, p. 7 ; L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, II, Paris 1930, p. 287 ; the same, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, Paris 1952, p. 312.

3. See e. g. Renou, o c. ; A Thumb, *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, I, Heidelberg 1905, p 159 ; A.A. Macdonell, *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 299. There is neither an occasion to consider here the motives of the divergence nor a necessity to dwell upon the line of action followed by the grammarians writing on the related languages. Reference may however be made to the way in which H. Paul *Prinzipien der Sprachgeshichte*, § 105) attempted to save himself from the difficulties resulting from his standpoint.

encounter one of the favourite topics of our grandfathers, that of border-line cases or "Mittelstellungen", which however on second thought often prove to be weak points in their argument.

The discussion of the phrase *vittiṁ vindate* by the same author may be quoted as a case in point.[1] In the accusative of implied object (cognate accusative), Delbrück says, the nominal ideas are only doubles of the verbal ideas. Sometimes however, he continues, the noun had in the course of time, "obtained" a concrete sense. Then the accusative is "no longer" cognate, but the case of the object. The above phrase originally meant, according to Delbrück, : "er findet sich Findung", i. e. "he finds for himself finding", *vittim* being a cognate accusative ; as soon as it came to express the sense of "acquisition" (cattle, landed property etc.) the nature of the phrase had, in prehistoric times, shifted. Learning the concrete character of *añji* "ointment" in *añjy aṅkte* and similar phrases undiscussed, it must be observed that it is often very difficult to decide how far a word referred to a "concrete" or to an abstract idea in our sense of these terms. It is important to notice that so slight a difference in meaning— which moreover in those ancient times often answered to no reality at all [2] - is made the determinant factor including a definite accusative in one of the categories assumed. Hence also Delbrück's own comment : "these cases show that it is impossible to draw hard and fast lines". It would, further, be unwarranted to conclude from his argument "it is also in this case perfectly clear how the various functions of the case come into existence"-that the accusative of the direct object in general derives its existence from the cognate accusative : it is, in my opinion, impossible to pronounce an opinion with regard to the genetic relations of these two functions, for the simple reason that reliable evidence which might shed light on this point is lacking.

The accusative of time was, by the same authority,[3] also considered a "special development" of the same cognate accusative. His argumentation is worth quoting : in *brahmacaryaṁ carati* "he practises chastity", *brahmacaryaṁ* is a cognate accusative ; the practically synonymous *brahmacaryaṁ vasati* (*vasati* "to dwell, live") is not dissimilar to the first phrase—on the preceding page these cases were described as "joining the accusative of implied object"—and from this the phrase *rātrīṃ vasati* "he spends the night" cannot be disconnected. As however some accusatives of the type mentioned last "developed independently" (Delbrück does not indicate how they arose), it would, in the opinion of the

1. Delbrück, o. c. p. 169.

2. See my book "*Ancient-Indian ojas, Latin *augos and the Indo-European nouns in -es/-os*", Utrecht 1952, p. 46 f. and elsewhere.

3. Delbrück, o. c. p. 170.

same scholar, be advisable to assume a special accusative of time. The combination of an accusative expressing time and verbs such as *gacchati* "to come", *vindati* "to find" is, according to the same scholar, to be considered a case of analogy : *avindann uttaram ahaḥ* "they found (him) next day". In cases like *tisro rātrīr dīkṣitaḥ syāt* "for three nights he should be consecrated" this accusative can, it is true, be used, but it "does not play a grammatical part any longer". The rare accusative of distance is in the same manner considered an "emancipated" accusative of implied object. According to Hopkins[1] this durative sense of the case under discussion was in its turn modified into that of "time when" or "in the course of". There seems however to be room for the same objection : these uses of the accusative, with the inclusion of the last, occur also in the oldest documents of several cognate languages, so that any discussion of their mutual chronological relation is mere speculation.

With regard to the accusative of aim or direction Speyer[2] pronounced the opinion that it is not sharply to be severed from the accusative of the object : on the boundary are cases such as *tvāṃ śrayati* "he bends to you, rests on you". Considering the latter use as the "special" characteristic of this case Whitney[3] at the time would consider the accusative accompanying verbs of address or approach as indicating a "less direct object", that of time or place as representing a "more adverbial" use. Delbrück on the other hand resorted, here also, to a negative definition of a transitive verb : those verbs are transitive which are usually connected with an accusative other than those enumerated before (of implied object and so on). This definition is again followed by the statement that the category of object "im Bewusstsein des Sprechenden liegt" ("has entered the consciousness of the speaker"). However, the accusative of direction can, like that of the object, correspond to a nominative, if the verb of the clause is passive : it is good Sanskrit to write *mayā grāmo gamyate* "I go to the village"; a similar passive construction sometimes corresponds to the cognate accusative : *Rāmāyaṇa* 2. 58, 20 *Bharate vṛttir vartitavyā ca rājavat* "let there be shown respectful behaviour towards Bharata as if he were the king". Now, the co-existence of this "passive construction" may be regarded as the most convincing evidence, not of the transitive character of a verb—for there are no verbs which are transitive by themselves—, but of their transitive use, of the so-called transitive character of the active turn.

1. E. W. Hopkins, *American Journal of Philology*, 24 (1903), p. 8 f.

2. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 30. Cf. also Renou, *Grammaire védique*, p. 343.

3. W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar*, § 269.

It would appear to the present writer that the conviction that the indication of the object, whether it is implied or direct, is the primary or essential function of the accusative could easily lead scholars astray in judging the character of definite constructions. It seems for instance highly questionable why, in considering semantic affiliations of verbs so much value should be attached to the presence of uniform constructions with one of the above functions of the accusative. In some cases at least another judgement of the semantic connections would, in view of the philological facts, be more natural. Adducing as an instance the Indo-European root* *reg*[1] it seems difficult to consider the significations as recently given by Pokorny[2], (–who is not alone in following Meringer[3]), according to whom an original sense of "extending, stretching (out) horizontally" has developed into "setting up" and hence "helping" and "leading", "ruling"— to be in tune with an objactive and critical examination of the actual use of this word family in the ancient Indo-European tongues A more plausible hypothesis would be the following[4] : the root **reg-* primarily expressed the sense of "to stretch, to stretch (oneself) out" ; if accompanied by an accusative (with or without a preverb or "verbal prefix"),[5] it could bear the force of "extending help, blessing etc., taking care of, bearing sway over, ruling, etc.". This is especially clear in the Greek representatives of this word family : *oregoo* or *oregoma cheira* means "to stretch out the hand" (hence also *boëtheian orexai* ; "to extend help"), *oregomai* alone "to stretch out oneself or one's hand" (cf. *orexat' ioon* "he stretched himself as he went"), *oregomai chersi* "to reach forth with one's hand" Similarly, though not always brought out in the translations, the Vedic *irajyáti* means "to extend, stretch oneself (powerfully etc.) out", *ṛjyate* "to stretch oneself (forth)". Whereas these verbs, if combining with the genetive, help to form such phrases as, in Greek, *oregomai paidos* "I stretch out (or : aim at, assail, hit) to the child", or *oregomai gamoon* "I reach after, i.e. yearn for marriage", and in Vedic, *irajyáti vásūnām*

1. For a detailed discussion of which see my paper "Semantisches zu indogerm. *rēg* "Konig" und zur Wurzel *rēg* "(sich aus) strecken", which will appear in (Kuhn's) *Zeitschrift fur vergl. Sprachforschung.*

2. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Worterbuch*, 9. Lieferung, Berne 1955, p. 854.

3 R. Meringer, in the "*Indogermanische Forschungen*", 17, p. 144 f. This author, it is true, relied too much on the very dubious assumption that the Latin *rogus* "(funeral) pile"—which can be considered a case of "vertical extension"—belongs to this word group.

4. This would be so on account of the ancient Indian use of the relevant verbs and of the probable original meaning* rēg-king, to wit : the one, who protecting, aiding blessing or commanding stretches himself, his arms, his swoy, his power out over his people I have discussed this point in my forthcoming book '*Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view*', which will be soon out.

5. As is well known, a verbal compound is often preferrably used as a transitive, even if the simple verb is not.

"to have the disposal of goods"—the genetive indicating that the nominal idea is not completely concerned in the process—, the construction with the accusative expresses, if I am not mistaken, the idea of "stretching oneself (out) over or towards an object"—cf. *Ṛgveda* 4, 8, 1 *dūtám..... ṛñjase girā́* "towards the messenger I stretch out myself with my song of praise"—,)which can develop into "to exert influence upon" e.g. *Ṛgveda* 2, 2, 5 *tám u havyair mánuṣa ṛñjate girā́* ; 1, 141, 6) and in Homer, e g. *Iliad* 16, 314 *orexamenos prumnon skelos* "he proved quicker and smote him upon the base of the leg" ; *Iliad* 23, 805 *orexamenos chroa* "reaching (the other's) flesh."[1] A remarkable passage, *Iliad* 16, 321 ff. *tou...| ephthé orexamenos...| oomon* admits of the interpretation : "he stretched out to him on (upon, over his shoulder", i e. "he hit him first on the shoulder". As is well known the ideas of direction or movement were often thrown into relief, made more definite, or indicated more precisely, by adding a more or less facultative "preposition" or "adverb of direction". Thus we find Homer *Iliad* 11, 26 *drukontes oroorechato proti deirḗn*" serpents (were) stretched out towards the neck" (i.e. "writhed up towards the neck") ; Indian instances run parallel : *Ṛgveda* 1, 140, 2 *abhi......ánnam ṛjyate* "he stretches out towards, reaches out to the food", *abhi* emphasizing the idea of "to, towards, over, upon" ; 10, 142, 2 *viśvā bhúvanā ny ṛñjase* which, if I am right, "literally" means "thou stretches (thyself) downward (over, upon) all living creatures" i.e. "thou rulest, controlest them". In this way the sense of "to rule, conquer, command, direct" from : "to stretch out over, exert influence upon", which is most conspicuous in the cognate Latin *regere,* would appear to be satisfactorily explained. Remarkably enough the related German word group, represented inter alia by the medieval Dutch *recken* and its compounds, shows similar semantic fluctuations.

Phenomena and historical developments such as are illustrated by the above words and constructions, which are, as is well known, not foreign to the cognate languages, constitute a difficulty in translating Vedic texts. Not infrequently one seems to steer between the Scylla of too "literal" or etymological an interpretation and the Charybdis of a supposed conformity with the classical usage Was, for instance, the line *Ṛgveda* 1, 36, 7 *tám ..namasvína úpa...āsate* equivalent to "they sit respectfully (ni. down close to (*upa*) him (Agni, fire, and the god of Fire") or to "they worship him" ?, *upa* and the verb *ās-* "to sit, to sit down" early assuming that meaning. Was Grassmann[2] right in translating *Ṛgveda* 9, 73,

1. I am not convinced that Schwyzer-Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik,* II, München 1950, p. 105 are right in holding that this construction has been modelled upon *balein* "throw so as to hit"+accusative, and Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon,* New edition, Oxford 1948, 1247 in maintaining that a gen. pers. must be supplied.

2. Cf. also H. Grassmann, *Worterbuch zum Rig-Veda,* s. s. v. v.

3 *pavitravantaḥ pári vā́cam āsate* "mit Läuterungsmittel versehen pflegen sie das Wort" or Geldner[1] in preferring" die Seihe haltend warten sie der Rede", *pari* expressing the idea of "round, around", and *pari-ās* "literally" meaning "to sit (down) around" ? It must, it is true, be conceded that in posing these questions in this way we push matters to extremes, for "to sit down near" under the circumstances described by the poet implied—and in the East often implies —an element of veneration. Translators however have to cut knots and philologists are never tired of investigating the ins and outs of their subjects. The problem is on the other hand complicated by the well-known fact that the number of verbal compounds has enormously increased in the course of time in Sanskrit as well as other languages. This is however not to conclude that all significations and nuances expressed by the compounds did not exist before these extended forms were created. In many cases the simple verb could convey a variety of meanings, part of which were at a later period expressed by a special compound[2]. Thus the verb *jānāti* which ordinarily means "to know, to perceive" could in ancient texts bear the force of *anu-jānāti* or *pratijānāti* "to approve". From this it follows that at least from a purely semantic or rather intellectual point of view the force of the preverb originally was, or may have been, comparatively insignificant. Is that to say that it may be neglected in cases such as *Ṛgveda* 1, 36, 7 (see above) which can be compared with 10, 70, 11 *ṛcā́ṃ tvaḥ pṓṣam āste pupuṣvā́n* "one sits augmenting the abundance of holy stanzas" ? Here Grassmann[3] correctly observed that *āste* can be translated by "mit irgendetwas beschäftigt dasitzen, namentlich verehrend am Altar".

Linguists interested in the syntax of cases should therefore remember that on the one hand translations cannot always be relied upon for their purposes and, on the other, many of the observations made by grammarians, though valuable for those who endeavour to translate the texts as accurately as possible, relate to semantic subtleties, logical relations, and the syntax of word-groups rather than the nature of the accusative. For the question remains to be put,–and if possible to be answered–, what is the unity in the functional diversity of this case, what is its very nature which made it fit to express a direct or implied object, time, direction, and to form in addition to these, so many adverbial phrases ? For it is no very satisfactory procedure to enumerate these functions or to state that this case denotes the end of motion as well as the direct object. Now the traditional classification of the functions of the accusative essentially is a semantic classifica-

1. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt* III, Harvard 1951, p. 67.
2. The reader may be referred to a paper "Quelques observations sur l'emploi du verbe simple "au lieu d'un composé" "etc. dans la langue sanskrite", *Acta Orientalia* 20 (1948) p. 167 ff.
3. Grassmann, *Worterbuch* 188 f.

tion of the nouns occurring in that case, in relation to the various contents of the verbal idea[1]. We can eat bread, sail the seas, approach the city, but we cannot sail bread or the city, approach bread, or eat the city. Those words which can be put in the "accusative of direction" necessarily are names of localities, persons, etc. which can, in actual fact or 'metaphorically", be approached. The verb used in these phrases are, in Vedic, *gam* and *i* "to go" and incidentally *sar* "to run", *pat* "to fall" and some others. The "accusative of time" is limited to words for "day", "night", "year" and so on, and the verbs accompanied by it express processes which take place in a certain space of time, for instance to sleep, to live, to sit, to grow. If something is effected or affected, we speak of the accusative of the object: *karoti havīṁṣi* "he prepares the oblations"; *annam admi* "I eat food". Not rarely however the same verb can take two or even more "accusatives", or rather the accusative in two or more functions, or the noun can be regarded as expressing a duration as well as a direct object: *rātriṁ viharati* "he passes (or: spends) the night". And this "ambiguity" is the main source of the above "borderline cases". Essentially, however, all the above constructions are of the same nature, and all these accusatives fulfill one and the same function.[2] It would appear that this nominal category, in opposition to the other *casus obliqui* expresses an unspecified relation of a noun or pronoun to a verb or another noun, the *casus obliqui* being opposed to the nominative, the naming case, which focusses attention on the "subject" of the utterance. It is characterized by not expressing that which is conveyed by the other *casus obliqui*[3]. This case of the accusative may show at which points the work of the main authorities on Sanskrit syntax who were brought up in linguistic traditions of seventy or eigthy years ago has gone out of date. In contradistinction to those scholars[4] who are of the opinion that a new and comprehensive syntax of Sanskrit is not urgently needed, the present author is convinced of the necessity to restart collecting materials from all periods and *genres* of literature, to insert in the description of the facts those chapters which did not attract the attention of the generation of our grandfathers, and above all to reconsider every formulation and every presentation of fact, to modernize the interpretations of the endless variety of phenomena which together form the syntactic texture of Sanskrit.

1. Tke reader may also consult J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque* 2, Paris 1954, p. 253 f.

2. The accusative *nāma* (Greek: *to onoma*) "by name" by which Delbrück (*Altindische Syntax*, p. 185) was puzzled may be considered an ancient nominative.

3. It may be permitted to refer to a paper on the character of the accusative which is to be published in the Festschrift-Martinet, which is to be published by the Universiiy of La Laguna (Canary Islands).

4. I refer to J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, Gottingen 1954, p. VI.

THE SPECIFYING SUFFIX *KA*

By

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For many years I have observed, and called to the attention of my students, the existence in Pali of a peculiar use of the suffix *ka*, which so far as I know has never been mentioned in print. I call it the 'specifying' *ka*. It adds to the primary word a sense of individual specificity or definiteness, something like '(the) one who is...(what the primary word means).' I have no considerable collection of cases in Pali, but a good example is Jāt. i. 222. 3 *macchānaṁ cintanaka-bako nāma*, 'such a thing as (*nāma*) a heron that is one who concerns himself about (the welfare of) fish.'

In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, where the same usage occurs, the primary word to which the specifying *ka* is added is most commonly and typically (though not invariably) a past passive participle. When this participle, lacking *ka*, occurs in the vicinity of its extension in specifying *ka*, it will be seen from the examples below that it often functions as a periphrasis for a finite verb, and constitutes a factual statement of an event that has occurred. Thus the form extended by specifying *ka* refers to the entity which has been affected by this event; it means 'the one that has been...' or the like. Such juxtaposed occurrences of forms with and without *ka* (examples listed below) seem to lead inevitably to the conclusion which I have reached as to this meaning of *ka*. To group them all with the 'meaningless *ka*' (*kaḥ svārthe*) would be implausible. For there are too many cases, as my examples (far from exhaustive) will show, in which the regular semantic difference between the forms with and without *ka* forces itself on our attention. It would usually seem impossible to substitute one for the other without changing the nuance of meaning.

This use of *ka* does not occur, I believe, in standard Sanskrit. But my Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit studies revealed a large number of cases in that dialect, and abundantly confirmed my interpretation of the Pali cases. I treated the subject briefly in my *BHS Grammar*, §§22. 38-39. The specifying *ka* is probably the only strictly new development in the use of the suffix *ka* in BHS (and Pali), as compared with Skt. It is one of a large number of locutions and items of vocabulary (hardly any inflectional endings except those which are general Middle Indic; cf. my *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Language and Literature*, Banaras,

1954, pp. 61-65) in which Pali and BHS show agreements which are clearly not inherited from Skt., and many of which seem not to be known in other Middle Indic. Whether the specifying *ka* occurs in other Middle Indic I am unable to say at present.

The interest of the subject, and the fact that it appears to have been completely ignored hitherto, seem to me to justify and demand a somewhat fuller discussion than I could give it in my BHS Grammar. (No review of that work which I have yet seen has made any mention of this matter.)

Such forms in specifying *ka* are often used in a supplementary reference to a condition previously mentioned. At the first mention of it, the same form may occur without *ka*, in a simple factual statement. Such cases are specially clear and convincing. Thus in [*Ārya*]-*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[1], 82. 25-26 we read: *sarvāmānuṣa-duṣṭadāruṇagṛhīteṣu ātmano hastam aṣṭaśatābhimantritaṁ kṛtvā gṛhītakaṁ mastake spṛśet, svastho bhavati*, 'in the case of people seized (possessed, by demons, -*gṛhīteṣu*) one should touch the possessed person (*gṛhītakaṁ*)...on the head, and he will get well.' Also *nāgarājā...ahituṇḍikena gṛhītako, taṁ ānetha*, *Mahāvastu*[2] ii. 179. 9, 'the Nāga-king, the one that has been captured by a snake-charmer (as previously stated), him bring.'

A number of equally clear cases are recorded in my BHS Dictionary s. v. *nirmitaka*. So *nirmitakā(v)* *Kāśyapa-parivarta*,[3] 142. 4 and 143. 4 ff., 'the two ones that had been fashioned by magic' (as previously described in 141). In some of these the form without *ka*, in simple factual statement, occurs in the same sentence with the form in specifying *ka*: *samyaksaṁbudhena yo nirmitako nirmito*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*,[4] 442. 15, 'a magically created individual (*nirmitako*) that has been magically created (*nirmito*, factual statement) by a Buddha'; *sa nirmitako yasya kṛtyasya kṛtaso* (for *kṛtaśo*, °*śas*, q. v. in my BHS Dict.) *nirmitas tat kṛtyaṁ karoti*, *ibid*. 443. 1, 'that magically created one (form; *nirmitako*) does the act for the sake of which he was magically created (*nirmitas*)'.

Similarly *sā Śākyakanyā guhāyaṁ nihitikā*, *Mahāvastu*, i. 353. 12-13, 'the Sākya-girl that had been put away in the cave' (as described in 352. 21); in the same passage, first *taṁ pāṁśurāśiṁ pādena apakarṣitaṁ* i. 353. 13, 'the heap of dirt was removed (statement of fact) with the foot', but two lines below, in 15, *tat pāṁśu apakarṣitakaṁ dṛṣṭvā*, 'seeing that dirt which had been removed'.

1. Edited by T. Ganaapati Shastri, Trivandrum, 1920, 1922, 1925.
2. Edited by E. Senart, Paris, 1882, 1890, 1897.
3. Edited by Stael Holstein, Shanghai, 1926.
4. Edited by R. L. Mitra, Calcutta, 1881.

In *Mahāvastu*, ii. 78. 11-14 we find first a form with specifying *ka*, then the same word in a simple statement of fact without *ka*, then yet another occurrence with *ka*, all easily interpretable: line 11, *udakahrade ardhakhāditako plavanto...dṛṣṭo*, 'a half-eaten creature (corpse), floating in the pool of water, was seen'; then in lines 11-12, *tena...ārocitaṁ, Dharmapāla udakarākṣasena khāyito* (MIndic for *khādito*) *ti*, 'he reported, Dh. has been eaten (no *ka*; factual occurrence) by a water-ogre'; but again in lines 13-14, *paśyati ca taṁ...udakarākṣasena ardhakhāditakaṁ plavantaṁ*, 'he saw floating that creature that was half-eaten by the water-ogre' (in the last passage one MS. has *khāyitaṁ* instead of *ardhakhāditakaṁ*; if this is the true reading, it would be, like *khāyito* in lines 11-12 above, a simple statement of fact, 'he saw him, eaten' etc.)

In several [*Ārya*]*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* passages containing magic practices against snake-bite, we find *daṣṭaka* clearly meaning 'one (or, 'the one') that has been bitten (by a snake)': 53. 22 *daṣṭakaṁ mahāhrade nāgāyatane vā* (sc. *ālikhet*, 'he should depict'); *daṣṭakottiṣṭhati* (for °*ka ut*°) 462. 19, and *daṣṭako nirviṣo bhavati* 25; *sarpa*–(text *sarva*–) *viṣa-daṣṭakāni cotthāpayati* 711. 28; *daṣṭakopari sthāpayitvā* 721. 4.

Divyāvadāna,[1] 222. 13-14 *yāny etāny āsanāni prajñaptakāny*... 'these seats that have been provided', cf. *prajñapta* with *āsana*, in lines 8 and 10 just above. And *Divyāvadāna* 494. 13-15 *Panthakena siṁhāsanaṁ dṛṣṭaṁ prajñāptakaṁ*, 'P. saw the throne which had been provided'; *dṛṣṭvā saṁlakṣayati, kiṁ tāvat prasādajātābhiḥ, prajñaptam āhosvit vihethanābhiprāyābhiḥ*, 'and seeing it he considered, Was it provided by them (as a matter of simple fact) with kindly or hostile intent?'

Mahāvastu ii. 471. 16 *yāni rājñā Kuśena siddhakāni*, '(the foods) which were the ones that had been prepared (cooked) by King Kuśa (not by others)'; in the same context, in simple statements of fact, *sidhaṁ* line 12; *kena...mamādya āhāro siddho* lines 17-18, 'by whom has my food been prepared today?'

About twenty-five other cases which seem to me to show the specifying *ka* are listed at the end of my *BHS Grammar* §22. 39; the exact references where they occur can be found in my Dictionary. Not all of them are as clear or striking as the above, which I hope are sufficient to prove my interpretation.

In closing I may add that all the passages cited above are prose, so that in them the suffix *ka* cannot possibly be due to metrical convenience.

1. Edited by Cowel and Neil, Cambridge, 1886.

SANSKRITIC WORDS IN KHOWAR

By

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Khowar, the main language of Chitral, has a mixed vocabulary with a large number of words borrowed from Iranian, and not a few of unknown origin. But it also contains a considerable amount of pure IA. elements, all the more interesting, because the great majority of such words must be real *tadbhavas*, or at any rate ancient *tatsamas*, since Chitral has been cut off from the main current of Indian civilization for a long time.

It may therefore be of interest, in a volume dedicated to the eminent Sanskrit scholar, Professor S. K. Belvalkar, to give a brief list of the Sanskritic elements preserved, often in an astonishingly archaic form, in this outpost of IA. It has only been possible here to include such words as do not call for a detailed discussion, as a more complete survey would exceed the limits for an article in this volume. For the same reason irregularities of phonetic development and other special problems will have to be discussed elsewhere.

The transcription chosen is the simplest and broadest possible, phonetic variants being reserved for a full publication of the material. Stress has been indicated in many cases, and in some cases the rising tone (!), indicating present or earlier aspiration. -*C* in Khow. and other Kafiri-Dardic languages denotes the dental affricate, *č* and *ç̣* the palatal and cerebral ones. Aspiration is lost in final position, but reappears before a suffix. Thus *poç̣(h)* = *poç̣*, old. *poç̣ho*. *Ḷ* is a "cerebral" *l*, which perhaps in some cases overlaps with dental *l*.

Comparisons are generally made either with Skt., or with forms mentioned in Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* (Nep.). Khow. words derived from stems in *-aka-*, *-ika-*, etc. are sometimes compared with unenlarged Skt. ones, to which in some cases (*ka*)- has been added. In the verbs the present ends in *-im*, etc., when *-um*, *-om* is not specially indicated by (*u*), (*o*), *-im* going back, on principle, to presents in *-aya-*, *-eim* to *-āpaya-*, *-āvaya-*, and *-um* to *-a-*. Note frequent *o* < stressed *a* in the infinitive, but *a* < unstressed *a* in the present (e.g. *bložik*, *baž!im*). But *o* may also go back to *o*, and this has in some cases led to derailing of the series.

Vowel-levelling is common : *i-u* > *u-u*, etc. Unstressed *-u* < *-aka-*, but stressed *-u* generally < *-uka-*. Note also *kṣ* > *ç̣h* ; intervocalic *-t-* > *r* ; *ṛ* in some cases > *l*.

Most words have been quoted from my own notations. Others are taken from O'Brien's Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khowar Dialect, Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan's Translation of the Ganj-i-Pukhto, or have been furnished by Colonel D.L. Lorimer and the Norwegian botanist P. Wendelbo. But, above all, Wazir Ali Shah, Government Treasurer Chitral, has with unfailing kindness and patience added to and corrected my list of Khow. words, and given me most valuable information about his mother-tongue. He is, however, not responsible for any mistakes which may be found in this paper.

For a bibliography of Khow. v. LSI, VIII, II, and the author's *Some Features of Khowar Morphology*, Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap (NTS), XIV, pp. 5-28. Etymological suggestions made to me by Professor Sir Ralph L. Turner are denoted by (T).

a'i snake.—*Ahi(-ka)-*.
i, obl. *io* one.—*Eka.*—Unexplained *i* also in other IA. languages (Pashai, etc.).

uc spring. - *Utsa-*.
oče and.—*Ca* ? But irregular phonetical development.
ačha, ***ačhar*** after(wards), behind, back.—Prob. for **vačh-paščāt*, etc.
očorti three days ago.—**Ā- caturthika* .
uč'utu clever, alert. **Uccittaka-*.
oç(h-) (light) blue, green. *Akṣa* blue vitriol ?
açhu blackberry (?).—**Ākṣuka-*, cf. *ākṣika-*, ācchuka Morinda tinctoria.

uγ water.—*Udaka-*.
aγ'am land kept for self-sown grass, stubble.—*Agāmin-* coming, future ?

aih up. - *Adhika-*.
auh, (*af*, *aho*) down.—*Adhaḥ*, rather than *ava*, with *h* from *aih*.
al-ik (*o*), pret. *awestam* to take away.—Pret. 3 sg. *awai apājat*, etc.
ul'e-ik to throw away, pour out, sprinkle.—*Ud-rī-* to release, let go, caus. *repaya-*. *Ul'u-ik* to fly away, fall (caus. ***uluwle-ik*** to make fiy) may be a secondary intrans. based upon ***uluik***.

al'uḷok pumpkin.—Nep. s.v. *ālul*.
aḷi duck.—*Aṭi*, *āḍi*.
oḷ'in millet.—Kal *ar'in*, etc. Cf. Kharoṣṭhī Doc. *aḍiṁni*, Poss. from Ir.

amu unripe. *Āmaka-*.
amk-ik to sprinkle (earth).—**Ā-mukna-*, cf. *ā-muc-* to let go, throw. Nep. s.v. *mukuro*.
amiṣṭ (*ṣt* ?) mixed.—*A-miśra* + *mikṣ-* (*miṣṭa*) ?
an mountain slope.—Not "peak", and therefore scarcely from *āṇi-* pin of an axle, etc.
und-ik to hang (intr.)—Denom. of *ava-nata-* (?)

andren(*-i*, *-ar*, etc.) inside.—*Antareṇa* —Cf. *androγ* diving *antar*(*a*)-*udaka*-; *andrelau* entrails, cf. Nep. s.v. *ānro*.

ang-ik (*o*), pret. *alestam* to bring.—Absol. *ā-nīya* + Khow. *gik*.—Pret. *ā-hr-*, cf. Kal. *hal-*.

ongoḷ-ik to imitate, mimic.—Poss. < **anukarǰ*- < *anu-karya*-, cf. *anu-kārya*-.

angˈar fire.—*Aṅgāra*-.

angˈuḷ finger-hole in scissors.—*Anguli*-. Ṛ also in Phal. *anguṛi* finger, etc.

anj-ik (*u*) to put on clothes.—*Ā-muñca*-, Kati *amč*-, Gawar-Bati *ānč*-.

anǰˈil both hands with open palms.—*Añjali*-.

anus day(time).—*Ahan* + *ahas*- (**ahnasa*) ? Or *ahan*- + *divasa*- ?

orc bear.—*Ṛkṣa*-. Kafiri form with *c*.

ardi (middle part of) floor.—**Ardhiy*/*ka* ? Scarcely Ar. *arẓ* earth.

arti satisfied with food.—**Ārirti* < *ā-tṛptika*-.

ortre-ik, etc., to shy (as a horse).—**Ava-trapaya*-, with anticipation of *r*.

ortiri the day before yesterday.—Kal. *atrili* < **ā-tṛtīya*-.

as-ik (*u*) to be.—Prob. *ās*-, not *as*-.

iskow peg.—**Skabha*, cf. *skambha*-, or from Ir. ?

usnˈe-ik to bathe, swim.—*Ava-snāpaya*-.—Also *usnˈe-ik* to lift up, for which I suggest derivation from *utsanna*- raised.

isnˈar (upper part of) body, esp. with reference to bathing (*isnara uγ dreik* to pour water on the body).—*Snāta*-.

isnatri swimmer.—*Snātṛ*(*ka*)-.

ispˈa we.—*Asmān*, etc.

ispˈaγ wastrel, worthless, etc.—**A-svāka*-, cf. *a-svaka*—pauper.

ispusˈar sister.—*Svasāram*.

asˈar high, solid wall.—**A-sāra*-, cf. *sāra*-solid, firm ?

iston-ik (*istanim*) to sigh, groan.—*Stan*-.

istri- female, she-.—*Strī*-.

istˈari star.—Prob. IA., not Ir., cf Skt. *stṛ*- and Kafiri *st*-.

išpˈur rhubarb. Cf. Ved. *śvāt*(*a*)*ra*- invigorating, epithet of Soma ? Vide Sarūpa-Bhāratī, pp. 30, sqq.

išperu white. *Svetaka*-.

išpašˈur father-in-law.—*Svaśura*-.

išpreṣˈi mother-in-law.—**Svaṣrīkā*-, *śvaśrū*-.

išpetrˈakal whitish (hair).—*Svitra*- + ?

ašru tear.—*Aśru*(*ka*)-.

uṣˈung young male (?) ibex.—*Ut-śṛṅga*, cf. *ucchṛṅgita*- with erected horns.

uṣuph-ik (*š* ?) to slip.—*Sṛp*- to slip, *ava-sṛp*- to set.

ošṭ eight.—*Aṣṭau*.

ušṭˈu brick.—*Iṣṭakā*-, with vowel levelling.

ut(*h*)ˈ*anu* supine.—*Uttānaka*-.

awˈa I.—Poss. *ahakam* > **au*, with secondary *-a*.

awle-ik to plait, braid.—**Ā-vyāpaya-*, cf. *vye-* to wrap, *ā-vye-* to cover oneself.

awli (*gamburi*) water-flower.—Not WAŠ; if correct<*āp(i)ya-* belonging to water; or from Prs. *ābī* ?

aw'oγ moss near water.—*Upodaka-*, but with *a* for expected *u-*.
aw'an hem, border.—T : Hi. *ubānā* threads left outside the comb in weaving<*udvāna-*?
awer-ik to take, to snatch away.—Prob. *apa-bhṛ-*. But *awer-ik* to shut up, tie up prob. with T < **ā-vṛ-*, and *awer- aur-* to ride from Ir.
awert-ik to turn (e.g. bread upside down for baking).—*A-vṛt-*.
axl-ik to comb. –Dental *l*, and therefore scarcely *ā-kharj-*, cf. *kharju-* scratching. –Perhaps, with metathesis, *ā-likh-* to scratch (T).
až-ik to be born.—*Ā-jāya-*.
auž'alu horsegroom.—*Aśvapālaka-*.
ižn'ari thing, kind, sort.—*Jñātika-*.
b-ik (*o*), pret. *hostam* to become.—*Bhava-*, ; pret. *abhava-* > (*a*) *ho-*, cf. Kal. *haw-is* I became.—But *bom*, pret. *obestam* to be able.
b-ik (*i*), pret. *baγestam* to go.—*Apa-i-* ; pret. 3 sg. *baγai* < *apāyāt*. Perf. ptc. *boγd'u* < *apagataka-*.
bau sheaf, load of grass.—*Vāpa-* weaving cf., from Ir., Shughni *wēb*, Pehl. Psalter *wāpe* sheaf.
bi seed. *Bīja-*.
baçh'oḷ calf.—L. w. from some dialect with *çh* < *ts*, cf. Phalūṛa *baçh'ūṛu*.
beçh'er-ik to open, undo, take out.—Kal. *bichar-* < *vi-kṣāraya-*.
bo(h) much, many.– *Bahu-*.
bok wife,—*Vadū-* + *-kkā-*.
boik bird —Cf. *vayas-*.
búk throat (exterior).—*Bukka-* heart ?
bil lid, cover opening.—*Bila-* hole, opening, hollow of a dish.
bol army.—*Bala-*.
bǒl the Pleiades.—Kal *Bahul*< *Bahulā-*.
boli good luck.—Cf, *bhall-* auspicious, *Bhallika-* n. pr.
blaidu faded ; Lor. *bleie ik* to make to wither.—*Mlāpaya-*.
bolm'uži earthquake.—*Bhūmicala-*, but associated with *bol* and *muž*, cf. O'B. *laškar-i-γaib* earthquake, litt. "the hidden arm (of fairies)".
beḷ-ik to wrap up.—Nep. *bernu*, Pālī *veṭh-* etc.
buḷ-ik to fry, parch.—*Bhṛj-*.
buḷi birch-tree.—Kal. *phoři*, *buři* < *bhūrja-*.
bim afraid.—*Bhīma-*.
bum earth, ground.—*Bhūmi-*.
bumbur bumble-bee.—Kal. *bhumbur*, cf. Skt. *bambhara-* bee.
bin-ik to knit.—*Vināti*, cf. Skt. *vayati*.
bond foot-bridge,—Poss. *bandha-*; but *band* closed < Prs.

banj holly-oak.—V. Nep. s. v. *bā̃jh*.
br-ik (*brium*), pret. *obristam* to die.—*Mriya-*.
bru eyebrow.—*Bhrū-*.
bár burden.—*Bhāra-*.
bara, loc. of *bar* time (*i bara* once).—*Vāra-*, or from Prs.
bléri outside.— < *Bāhiriy/ka-*.
buru-ik (intr.), *birꞌe-ik* (trans.) to melt.—*Vi-lī-* (*vi-rāyaya-* ?).
berŏ ik (*u*) to be left, to remain.—*Vi-ricya-*.
bord-ik to grow up ; caus. *bardeik* to rear.—*Vṛdh-*.
bardꞌox axe.—*Vardh-* to cut.
bruk kidney.—*Vṛkka-*.
bran ram, one year old.—*Vrāṇa-*, cf. *uraṇa-*.
brén-ik to shear.—*Bhrīṇāti*.
brár brother.—*Bhrātā*, or, through *brārar*, < *bhrātaram*.
barti quail, partridge.—*Vārtika-*.
bort stone.—Cf. *vṛtta-*, *vartaka-* round. The place name ***Bortuili*** may point to a stem in *u*, cf. *vartula-* round.
bartꞌun wooden spinddle-disc.—*Vartuna-*.
braž leather strap.—*Vadhrya-*.
bražayu brother's wife, etc.—*Bhrātṛ-jāyā-*.
bas day (24 hours).—*Vāsa-*.—*Basꞌe-ik* to put up for the night.
bás flame.—*Bhāsa-*.
bosun spring.—*Vasanta-*.
bispiki wasp.—*Vaspik/ya-*, cf. *Waigali *waṡpīk*, etc.
baṡꞌe-ik to sing. *Vāś-*.
biṡꞌir twenty.—*Viṁśati-*.
boṣ-ik to rain.—*Vṛṣ-*.
beṣ young ewe.—*Bheṣa-*, cf. *meṣa-* and Nep. *meṛo*, *bheṛo*.
beṣꞌu Caragana.—Kal. *biṣa*. Prob. < **viṣaka-*.
bot-ik (*batꞌim*) to bind.—From **both* < *baddha-*.
bit plank.—*Bhitti-*.
bít supper.—*Bhakta-*. But *bat* cooked rice is a l. w.
bat-biꞌul O'B. (unknown to WAŠ).—If correct, prob.—*biḷal* <*biḍāla-* cf. Shina *bag-biaṛu* leopard.
bawꞌin small, wild oats.—*Vapanīya-* to be sown.—T compares Pkt. *vavaṇī*—cotton.
bayꞌu hunting.—Cf. *vī-* (*véti*) ; *vāyū-* desirous, greedy.
boy-ik to plant·—*Vapaya-* to sow ?
bayꞌe-ik to break wind.—Denom. of *vāyu-*, or, with T, *vāpaya-* to blow on, to emit a smell.

bož-ik (*bažim*) to divide.—*Bhaj-*.
čꞌokul avalanche of stones.—**Cakla-* = *cakra-*, not necessarily l.w. from **cakkal* < *cakrala-*.

čukrꞌi tree with black berries, sloe (?).—*Cukra-*.
čal mane.—*Cāla-* moving, cf. Pashai *čāl* long hair.
čol bankrupt.—*Cala-* unsteady, disturbed.
čuḷ plait, woman's hair.—*Cūḍā-*.

čankarat brahminy duck.—From* *cakravaktā*, cf. *cakravāka*-?
čit will, intention.—*Citti*-.
čho-ik (*čhaum*) to swear.—Kal. *čhaw*<**chap*-, *śap*-.
čh-ik (*čhium*) to break (intr.), *čhin-ik* (trans.).—Intr.<**chida*-. trans.<**ckinda*-, or denom. from *chinna*-.
čhay shadow.—*Chāya* (*ka*)-.
čhani kid, one year old.—**Chāyanika*-, cf. *chāga*-.
čhor four.—**Cor* (*u*) *r*<*caturo*, with aspiration from *c̣hoi*.
c̣hoi six.—With original *kṣ*-.
c̣hui hungry, hunger.—*Kṣudhā*-, etc.
c̣hic̣h-ik (*u*) to learn.—*Sikṣ*-.
c̣huc̣u, *c̣uc̣hu* dry.—*Sukṣa*-<*śuṣka*-.
c̣hek illness, pain ; *c̣hayak* ill, sick.—*Kṣaya*-, etc.
c̣hom-ik (*c̣hamim*) to feel pain.—*Kṣam*-.
c̣han leaf.—In spite of *c̣h*- prob.<*chadana*-covering.
c̣hun-ik to trample upon.—*Kṣuṇatti*, *kṣuṇṇa*-, *kṣuṇḍa*-(?).
c̣hon-ik to beat down, shake down.—*Kṣan*—to hurt, injure.
c̣hor-ik (*c̣harum*) to fall —*Kṣar*-.—Cf. *c̣har* cliff, precipice.
c̣hir milk.—*Kṣīra*-.
c̣huti earth, soil, dust.—**Kṣuttika*-, cf. *kṣud*- to pound, crush ?
c̣hletur field, cultivation.—*Kṣetra*-.—*Chatrlar* Chitral **Kṣetrātā*.
d-ik (*dom*), pret. *phrestam* to give —*Da*—(**daya*-), : imper. 2 sg. *det*<*daddhi* ; pret. 3 sg. *prai*<*pradāt* ; pref. ptc. *diru*<**ditaka*-.
ddi stack of corn or grass.—*Dhāya*-layer, stratum.—But also Wakhi *δiy* stack.
de-ik to run —*Dhāvaya*-.
di-ik, *dik* to suck,—*Dhe*-, *dhīya*-.
dô ik to milk.—*Duh*-, *dohaya*-.
dou torch, a kind of conifer.—*Dava*- forest fire.
dodor a kind of lizard, chameleon.—*Dadru*- tortoise.
dahlar slope, spur of a hill.—Borr. from a dialect with retained *dh*- rendered by Khow. *dah*-, cf. e. g. Pashai *dhār* hill <*dhārā*-.
doḷ strong, forceful, heavy (snow).—**Daḍha*-<*dṛḍha*-?
dlaḷum pomegranate.—*Daḍima*-.
dlami colt, foal.—**Dāmiya*-, cf. *damya*-, *dānta*-.
don tooth.—*Danta*-.
dón ghee.—*Dadhan*-.
dun-ik to consider, think.—Panj. *dhun* absorbing thought, cf. Nep. *dhun* (*nu*).
donik wooden milk-cup.—*Dohanī*-.
donsk gadfly.—Like Kal. *dac*, *dhāc* form of *daṃśa* (*ka*)-, Hi. *ḍās*.
daphe-ik to crush, pound.—Cf. Nep. s. v. *dapkāunu* to chastise.
drle-ik to pour out, throw, etc.—Cf. *drāvaya*-, but poss. from Ir., v. BSOS, VIII, 663 ; Indo-Ir. Frontier Langu. II, 206.
dro(*h*) hair.—Poss. IA., cf. Ashkun *dro* hair<*drava*-, flowing but the word is found also in Ir.
ḍar wood.—*Dāru*.-

dorik (*darim*) to keep. hold, etc.—*Dhṛ-*.
dor i ladle.—*Darvika-*.
dur house, home.—Cf. acc. pl. *durah̤*.
droc̣ (*h*) grape.—*Drakṣa-*, *drākṣa-*.
draγ'anz̤ famine.—Kal. *dragaz̤*, : Wershikwar *deryanǰ*. Cf. Kshm. *drāg* famine, dearth, *drōgr* dear, highpriced<**dur-arghaka-*. L. W. in Khow.—Accidental resemblance to Slav. *dragŭ* dear.
dril inflated skin.—*Drir*<*dṛti-*.
drom-ik to flee the country.—*Dram-*.
dron wormwood.—Shina *z̤ūn*, Waigali *drī*, acc, to T from Pehl. *dramnak*, borr. into Skt. (M. IA. form) *damanaka-*.
drón bow.—*Druṇa*-bow ; *droṇa*—wooden vessel. Semantic influence from Ir. ?—*Dronh'anu* rainbow<**droṇa dhānuka* .
drung long.—Palesī Shina, Gowro *z̤ugo*<**drugo*, but relation to *dīrgha*—is not clear.
duru'leni householding.—*Dura* + *pānīya* – to be protected ?
driz̤ (*xora*) millstone for hand-mill —*Dṛṣad-*.
diš bad.—*dūṣya*—bad, vile.
doṣ yesterday—*Doṣā*.
daṣm'an priest.—*Dakṣamant*—possessing mental power ?
diṣṭ span.—*Diṣṭi-*.
duwlaɪt door.—Doubtful if from Ir. (v. BSOS, VIII, 660).—Skt. *d* (*u*) *vāra-*?
g-ik (*gom*) pret. *hastam* to come.—*Gā-*, pret. 3 sg. *hai āyat*, with secondary *h-*.
goγ worm.—*Gaṇḍhuka-*.
gah female yak.—Kal. *gak*, Waig. *gā*, etc. cow<*gām*.
gól valley.—Kal. *ghal*-valley ; Mar. *ghaḷ* ravine, gully<**ghala-*.
goḷ neck.—*Gaḷa-*, but Skt. *gala-*.
goḷi pitcher.—*Ghaṭikā-*.
góm wheat.—*Godhūma-*.
gamburi flower.—Kal. *gambhuri*< **gandha-pūrikā* "fragrance filling".
gán wind.—**gandha-*, *gandhim*. cf. Pashai *wāyan* wind<**vahah-gandha* = *gandha-vaha-*.
gan-ik to seize —*Gṛhṇā-*.
gri (narrow) pass.—*Giri* (*ka*)-. But *gri* (*h*) snare<**grahi-*?
gór demon.—*Ghora-*.
garbin pregnant (animal).—*Garbhiṇī*. Also Mar. *gābhaṇ* is used only about lower animals.
gordóγ ass.—*Gardabhaka-*. Kal. *gordhok*, etc. from Khow.
grah eclipse, water animal which seizes a man in a river.—*Grāha-*, *graha-*.

-gram, only in place-names.—*Grāma-*.—***Grambeśu*** neighbour *grāma-* + *veśa* (*ka*)—neighbour.

gren log in a wall – Kal *grheṇḍ-* < *granṭhi-*, *granthi-*.
graniš, ***greniš*** noon —**Ghraniṣya-*, Pashai *lenī*, cf. **ghramsa-*, *ghṛṇa-* sunshine.

griṣp summer.—**Grīṣma-*.
goṣ dough ; *goṣ k.* to knead.—*Gharṣa-*.
gás grass, lawn.—Kal. *ghas*, etc. < *ghāsa-*. But note *z*.
Yeč(h) eye. — **Ečh* < *akṣi-*, with unexplained "prefix" *Y-* . Several Kafir-Dard. languages have *č* for expected *ch* in this word
Yoçhar waterfall.—**Uγa çhar*, cf. *uγ* and *çhorik*.
γežˈi alone.—Scarcely **ekāciya-*. cf. *ekākin-*.
hes, obl. *horo* that. - *Eṣa*, etc.
him snow.—*Hima-*.
hˈanu sheath.—*Ādhāna(ka)-* place in which anything is deposited.
hon flood, inundation.—*Hanu-* destroying or injuring life.
hunˈu chin —*Hanukā-*.
hiṇḍˈal bachelor, spinster.—**Hiṇḍālu-*, cf. *hiṇḍ-* to roam about.
hˈeru tame.—Si. *herū* habituated, accustomed. Cf. Nep. s.v. *hili-mili*.
hardˈi heart.—*Hardi (ka)-*.
hos-ik (hasim) to laugh.—*Has-*.
host arm, hand.—*Hasta-*.
heṣt yoke-pole.—*Ṛṣṭi-*.
ǰu two.—Prob. < **dyu* < *dui*, v. Nep. s. v.
ǰamˈar son-in-law.—*Jāmātā*.
ǰamˈili daughter's or sister's son —Cf. *jāmi-* female relative.
ǰamiž twin.—*Yama-*, with unexplained suffix.
ǰoš ten.—*Daśa*, with palatalization of *d* through the influence of *ś* ?
ǰoš grass.—For **ǰos* < *yavasa-* (T) ?
ǰoṣ-ik (ǰaṣum) to consider, understand. *Joṣati* to approve of ?
ka, obl. *kos* who ; *kia*, obl. *khio* what.—NTS., XIV, 19.
koç (1) waste garden, copse ; (2) vine (clump of trees with grape vine, O'B.).—Prob. one word < *kakṣa-* dry wood, underwood.
koγ crow.—*Kāka-*.
koγ wild dog.—*Koka-* wolf.
kukuḷi puppy.—*Kukkuṭika-*, but Skt. *Kukkuṭa-* cock, *kukkura-* dog !
keḷi sheep.—**Ka-eḍika-*, cf. *eḍa-*.
kiḷˈaḷ cheese.—*Kilāṭā-*.
kambˈox branch ; *kombˈoḷ* Lor. thick branch, bough.—*Kampa-* shaking ?
kumˈoru girl ; *kimˈeri* woman.—**Kumarakā-* (!) and *kumārikā-*.
kán tree.—*Kāṇḍa-*.
kanu blind.— *Kāṇa(ka)-*.
kˈandu wild almond —*Kānta (ka)-*.
kuṇḍuk wooden jug.—*Kuṇḍa-*.
kandˈuri how much, how many.—*Kiyant-* + ?
kaṇǰˈoḷ biggish, black bird.—*Kañjala-* Gracula religiosa ?
kapˈal skull, head.—**Kappāla-*, v. Nep. *kapāl*.
kru-ik to be displeased, sulky.—*Krudh-* (T) ?

krui red, bloodshot.—Prob. *krav (i)ya-*, not **krūrika-* with dissimilation of second *r*.
kor-ik (*korom*), pret. *arestam* to do.—*Karomi*; pret. *are-* from augmented form; perf. ptc. *kardu* < **kṛitaka-*.
kur where.—*Kutaḥ*.
krom-ik to thresh.—*Kram-* to tread, step upon.
korum, obl. *kormo* work.—*Karman-*.
kren-ik to buy.—*Krīṇā-*.
krong interior of chest.—*Karaṅka-* skull, bone, cf, Nep. *karaṅ* rib.
kurang light chestnut colour.—*Kuraṅga* antelope, orig. *ku-raṅga-* ?
kroph-ik (*kraphim*) to crow.—Cf. *krp-* (*akrapiṣṭa*) ?
kos-ik (*kasim*) to walk about.—*Kas-* to go, move.
kis-ik to plough.—*Kṛṣ-*.
kowor pigeon.—*Kapota-*.
ko(w)it fig-tree —*Kapittha-* Feronia elephantum, etc.
khoi cap — Shina id. From **khoda-*, borr. from Ir. (Av. *xaoδa-*) ?
khadur dirty, muddy. In spite of *kh*, cf. *kadru* tawny ?
khol threshing floor.—*khala*.
khen'e-ik to dig.—*Khan-*.—*Khen* mattock, hoe, phonet. < *khāni-* mine, but semant. cf. *khānaka-* digger.
khongor sword.—Similar forms in other Dardic languages. From *khaḍga-ra-*, cf. Panj. *khaggo* and v. Nep. *khãg*[1].
khanj wall.—Prob, with T, < *khaṅga-*.
khar flower-bed.—*Khāta-* excavation, ditch.
khairanu donkey's foal.—Somehow a derivative of *khara-*.
khoṣ-ik (*khash-*) GP to groom a horse.—*Kaṣ-* to rub, scratch.
khuṭu lame, crippled. Cf. *khuṇḍ*—to limp, v. Nep. s. v. *khoṭ*.
le-ik to get, find, reap.—*Labhaya-*, and *lavaya-*.
lei blood.—**Lohika-* (cf. *lohikā-* iron pot) not *lohita-*.
li-k to lick.—*Lih-*.
lu-ik to cry, bray.—*Rud-* (?)
loc light (of weight).—*Laghu-* + ?
liĉhak flabby, swaying.—**Licca-*, cf. Kshm. *lecun* to be flabby.
liç(h) small louse, nit.—*Likṣā*
loh copper.—*Loha-*.
loḷ ik (*laḷim*) to look at.—*Laḍ-* to play, dally, move, toss about (the tongue, etc.) ?
lambur barrage.—*Lambita-*, from *lambaya*—to attach, fasten ?
lon salt.—*Lavaṇa-*.
lang-ik (*u*) to move, shake (intrans.).—*Laṅgh-* to leap over.
losting clods.—*Losta-*, with Burushaski plur. suffix.
ma me, my.—*Mām*, etc.
mi-k to make water; *miru* urine.—*Mih-*.
mo don't.—*Mā*, but note Khow. *o*<*ā*.
maĉ'i fish—*Mats(i)ya*.-
maçh'i honey.—*Makṣikā* bee.
muçh'oḷi testicles.—**Mukṣa-*<*muṣka-*, cf. s.v. *çhuçu*.

meh waist.—*Madh(i)ya-*, but we should have expected **mehi*.
muk'ul monkey.—*Markaṭa-*.
muka small shot.—Si. *muko* loosed, etc.<**mukna-*.
mul root.—*Mūla-* (with original *l* ?).
man-ik to plaster, paste with s. th.—Prob. **maṇḍ-*, Nep. *māṛnu*.
manu skin bag for keeping milk, etc.—*Mānaka* a measure.
mun stump of a tree.—*Muṇḍa-* trunk of a lopped tree.
manḍ'aγ heron.—*Maṇḍa-* frog + *adaka-* eating.
manth'ar (Hindu) invocation.—Prob. a later l.w. from *mantra-*.
mroi all sorts of big game.—*Mṛgayā-* hunting.
mar-ik to kill.—*Māraya-*.
mraç(h) mulberry.—Related words in all E. Dardic languages, e.g. Phal. *maharōç*, poss.<**mahuravuçh-*<**madhura vṛkṣa-*.
mas moon, month.—*Māsa-*.
mož man, husband.—Prob.<**mamśya-*, not *martya-*, which would have given **moč*.
muṣṭi fist, grip.—*Muṣṭika-*.
marist'an slave.—Also Kal., Shina **Marya sthāna-* having the position of a *marya* ?
mat'i a paste smeared on the umbilical cord.—**Maktika-*, cf. Dhātup. *mac-* to pound, grind.
m'uṭu blunt.—*Bhuṭṭa-* (v. Nep. *bhutte*) + *muṇḍ-* (v. Nep. *muṛo*).
mux face, cheek.—*Mukha-*.
muž marrow.—*Majjan-*.—Also *muž* (*muži*, *mužar*) middle, identical with *muž* marrow, or <*madhya-* ?
maẓ-ik to wash, rub, sweep.—*Mārjaya-*, but note *ẓ*, not *ḷ*.
ne-ik to take out.—*Nāvaya-* to remove
no no, not.—*Na*.
ničo very nearly, exactly.—*Nityam* constantly, by all means ?
nič'h'aγ the shady side of anything.—From Ir. Yidgha *nusiy*, etc.), but adapted to *čhaγ*.
nig-ik to wash.—Denom. from **nigna-*, *nij-*.
noγ new.—*Navaka-*.
noγ'or castle.—*Nagara*.
n'alu quiver.—*Nāla-* tube, hollow stalk, *nālaka-* stalk, with *ḷ* acc. to Lüders, *Philologia Indica*, p. 555.
noḷ reeds.—*Naḍa-*, *nala-*.
niḷ'ang weeding.—Acc. to T<IA. **niḍāna-*<**niẓlāna-*.
nam name.—*Nāman-*, less prob. from Prs.
nime-ik to weigh, : ***nim'ar*** weight.—**ni-māpaya-*, **ni-māti-*.
nari male.—*Nar(i)ya-*.
nas proximity (in *nasa*, *nasi*, *nasar* near to, from the presence of, etc.).—*Nāsā-* nose ?
nask'ar nose.—*Nāsikāgra-* the point of the nose.—***Nastuḷi*** mucus of the nose, ***nast*** before, in front of<*nasta-* nose ?
niš-ik to sit down.—Kal. ***nis-***.—***Ni*** + ***sīda-***, but why *š*, not *s* ?
niṣpeḷ-ik to pull out, squeeze out.—*Niṣ-pīḍ-*.

nyoh nine.—*Nava*, but why *ny*-?—Final -*h* from Prs. ?
niž-ik to take off clothes, flay.—*Ni-jahaya*-, cf. *jahāti* to leave, lay aside ?
nuž'an unknown, strange, wonderful.—*Na* + *jñāna*- ?
pik to drink.—*Pī*.
počik (*pačur*) to boil (intr.), to ripen.—*Pacya*-.
puč(h) penis.—*Puccha*-.
pičh'ili a kind of spinach.—*Picchila*- slimy, lubricous.
pačh'an disappeared, hidden.—*Upacchanna*- hidden, with very early loss of *u*- ?
peç hot.—Relation to *pac*- not clear.—*Pakṣya*-is phonetically possible, but would be a most unlikely form.
poç(h) feather.—*Pakṣa*-.
poh footprint, track.—*Pada*-, but why -*h* ?
polik (*palim*) to wrap, fold.—If orig. ḷ, poss. from *paṭ*-.
p'uli rotten, addled.—*Pūl(i)ya*- AV. empty or shrivelled grain ?
pil'ili ant.—Cf. *pipīlika*-.
pul'uṣu flea.—Kal. *priṣu*<**pliṣuka*-<*pluṣika*-.
peḍ-ik to wrap.—*Pīḍ*-.
pin calf of the leg.—*Piṇḍa*-.
pon road.—*Panthan*-, -*Pondi* provisions for the road<**panthiya*- ?
phun-ik to winnow.—*Pūnīte*, but note *ph*-.
pinḍa'lu ball of yarn; *pinḍ'oru* round.—Deriv. of *piṇḍa*-.
pong foot.—**Pagg*<**padga*-, cf. Guj. *pag* foot. V. Nep. s. v. *pag-ḍanḍe*.
ponj five.—*Pañca*.
panjar'aš full moon, 15th day.—*Pañca*-, *daśa*, cf. Singh. *paṇara* 15th day.
por-ik (*parim*) to lie down, to go to sleep.—*Pat*-.
parečh-ik to throw away (forcibly).—*Parā* + *iṣ*-to throw, but with pres. *iccha*-from *iṣ*-to wish ?
purd'u-ik to cover one self, put on a cloak, etc.—*Pari-dhā*-, but why *u* ?
purd'ūm leopard.—*Pṛdhūma*-? Cf. *pṛdāku*-.
parkem-ik to surround, besiege.—*pari-kram*-.
par'anu ancient.—*Purāṇa(ka)*-.
praš rib, side.—*Pārśva*-.
pruṣṭ-i,-a before, in front of.—*Pṛṣṭha*-top, upper side ?
pirtak sterile.—**Pra-riktaka* (T).
prawi lowlands.—**Prāpiya*-, cf. Pāṇ. *prāpa*-abounding in water (?). T compares Pkt. *pāvia*-well watered.
prazy'ar dew, hoar-frost.—**Pruṣvā-kara*-.
pis'a, *bis'a* you (2 pl.).—Poss. **v(a)sa*, somehow based upon Skt. *vaḥ* ?
poš-ik (*pašim*) to see.—*Paś*-.
puš'ur meat.—**Pišur*<*piśita*-, with vowel-levelling.
peṣ-ik to grind; *peṣ'iru* flour.—*Piṣ*-.

pioṣ beestings (first milk of a cow after calving) *Pīyūṣa-*.
paž'al shepherd.—*Paśupāla-*.
phi wooden shovel; *phiu* scapula.—*Sph (i) ya-*.
phu-ik to blow.—Cf. Nep. *phuknu*; Mar. *phuṅkṇe*.
phal ploughshare.—*Phāla-*.
pholok single grain.—*Phala-*.
phal'e-ik to wave (sleeves), to wag (the tail).—*Sphal-*to shake, burst, perhads related to *sphaṭ-*to burst, expand, etc.
phan palm of the hand.—*Pāṇi-*, or from Ir., cf. Wakhi *pūn* (with slightly aspirated *p-*) ?
phenu form, scum. *Phena (ka)-*.
phon-ik (*phanim*) to dance.—*Phaṇ-*to go, move ? Or *spand-*?
phar far away, across.—Cf. *pāra-*? But *ph-*also in Dameli, Phaluṛa.
phorp shed.—Cf. *parpa*—house (Uṇādi) ?
phaš trap, snare.—*Pāśa-*, but *ph-*in several I.A. languages.
ra (y)-ik to bark.—*Rāyati*.—Cf. *reni* dog.
re-ik to speak.—*Rāpaya-*, *rap* —to talk.
ri-(i) k to leak.—*Rīya-*.
roi people, man, person.—*Rodha*—growing, with the same semantic development as in Germanic and Slavonic (*Leute*, *ljud*, etc.).
ru-ik to grow (plants).—*Rudh-*.
riọ (h) filth, excrements.—**Rikṣa-*, cf. *ric-*.
roçh-ik (*raçhim*) to herd cattle.—*Rakṣ-*.
roγ deodar.—*Roka-*light, lustre.—"Torch (-tree)" = deodar, in several Kaf.—Dard. languages.
rum tail.—*Lūmā-*.
ramboγ bean.—*Rājamudya (ka)-*.
ron oorial ewe—*Rohiṇī-*?
randeẓu fried meat, kabab.—Cf. *randh-*?
ror'en nipple.—**Uro-dhānya-*? Cf. *uro-ja-*.
raš stack, heap.—Prs., or *rāśi-*?
rišun, *rušun* besom.—**Ati-śobhana-* (T).
rošt light, bright.—*Rucita-*?
reẓ'u bull.—*Rṣabha-*.
reṣṭ avalanche.—*Reṣṭṛ*—one who injures or hurts ?—But cf. also Shughni *riṣt*, Yidgha *rešk*, from Khow. ?
riṣṭ corniced road, parri.—*Riṣṭi-* injury, damage.
rožiyu daughter-in-law. *-jāyikā-*, with unknown first element.
se, obl. *toγo*, pl. *te-t* that.—*Sa*, *tasya*, *te*.
su (m) together with.—*Samam*.
su-ik to sew.—*Siv*—(+*sūtra-*?).
sam'un arrangement.—*Sampādana-*, *sampanna-*.
sin river.—*Sindhu-*.
ser bridge.—*Setu-*.
siri barley.—*Sīt (i) ya-*corn, grain.
s'orum gold.—*Suvarṇa-*, with *m* from *droxum* silver. Yidgha l. w *suw'orum* has retained a more ancient form.

srung horn.—*Sṛnga-*, with *s* from Ir. *srū-*, etc.
sot seven.—*Sapta.*
sauz'e-ik to prepare, make ready.—Cf. Pashai *sabǰ-id.* *sampadya-.* But cf. also *samun.*

šoγ mourning.—*Soka-*.
šuγ'ur sand.—Kal. *šigol-<*šikatā-*, cf. *sikatā-*. *Š* also in **Phal.** *šiga* sand (but *sigal* fine sand), etc.
šu (h) hedgehog.—**Šuāvih<śvāvidh-*.
šal cattle-shed.—*Śālā-*.
š'ali rice in the field.—*Śāli (ka)-*.
šil door (wedge).—*Śili-*the lower timber of a door.
šil'oγ tale, story.—*Śloka-*.
šalag'u lizard; *šal'ak* grasshopper.—Cf. *śalabha-*, v. Nep. s. v. *salaka.*
šol reed.—*Śala-*.
šama (r)-γunu yoke-strap.—Cf *śamyā* yoke-pin.
šim anu trouserstring, : *šim'eni* string, rope.—*Syūman-*.—But note *sim'enu* waistband
šen support for vine, pergola.—*Śayana-* resting place ?
šun lip —*Suṇḍa-*.
-šuni, in *istri-*, *nari-šuni* she-, he-dog.—*Śuni (ka)-*.
šang fear, suspicion.—*Śaṅkā-*.
šong a kind of shrub with white twigs (unknown to WAŠ).—Kal. *šong-* branch If the Khow. word is correct, < *śaṅku-*.
šunǰ needle.—**Sunǰ*, cf. Pashai *sunč-ek*, etc., < **sūnci, sūci-*.
šinǰ'ur Eleagnus.—Kal. *sičin* and various Dardic forms < **śincita-*, cf. Prs. *sinǰid*, etc.
šunkh-ik to smell.—Nep. *sũghnu, suṅnu.*
šap'ir wolf. *Sapita-* cursed.—Cf. the use of Ar. *la'nat* curse for snake, etc., in various Ir. dialects.
šar'a male markhor.—Cf. *śarabha-* ?
š'aru cold.—Cf. *śāra-* air, wind. But also Wakhi *sür* cold.
šer, pret. *ošoi* it is.—*Sete, aśayat.*
šor 100.—*Satam*
š'oro autumn.—*Śarad-*.
šorum Anethum sowa. (unknown to WAŠ).—**Satamph-*, Panj., etc., *saũph*, Nep. s. v. *sũp*, cf. *śatapuṣpa-*.
šron hip.—*Sroṇi-*.
šar'an court-yard.—*Śaraṇa-*.
šot oath.—*Śaptu-*, *Śapatha-*.
šut sour.—*Śukta-*.
šu'ur thread.—*Sūtra-* + *syū-*.
šax vegetable.—*Śāka-*. Note *-x*, not *-γ*.
ṣad'ar servant (also Kal., Shina, etc.)—*Śraddhālu*, or *śraddā-k|dhara.*
ṣeγ'un liver.—*Yakan-* > **žaγan*, with *ṣ* from *ṣangur* entrails ?
ṣi'al jackal.—*Sṛgāla-*.
ṣol'oṣp glue.—Kal. *ṣil'eṣ* < *śleṣman-*.
tu thou.—*Tuvam.*

tošh-ik (*tašhim*) to cut with an axe.—*Takṣ-*, but note *šh*, not *ṣh*.—Cf. *troṣik* to hew < **trakṣ-* ?

tukh'unu sharp.—*Tikhunu*, from *tīkṣṇa-*, but not a genuine Khow. *tadbhava*.

tol weight.—Prob. l.w. from Hi. or Panj.

taḷ lock, bolt.—*Tāḍa-* ; ṭāḷa in Mar.

tan own, self.—*Tanu-*, but note *a* < *ā*.

tonǰ lost, disappeared.—*Tañc-* to go.

troi three.—*Trayaḥ*.

tor-ik (*tarim*) to reach, arrive.—*Tarati*.

tori upper, above.— *Uttara-*, *uttarīya-* upper (garment).

Ter'ič Mer Terich Mir.—*Tirīca-* oblique, and *Meru-* mountain.

troq bitter.—*Takra-* buttermilk. But note *q*.

trup salt.—*Tṛpa-*, cf. Pashto *terw'u* salty, etc. ?

tuṣ straw.—*Tuṣa-*.

ṭh-ik to rest.—Cf. *sthita-*, etc.

thu-ik to spit.—*Thūt-kara-*the sound made in spitting, v. Nep. *thu*.

thul fat, stout.—*Sthūla-*.

than body.—*Th* as well as *a* point to *sthāna-*, not *tanu-*.

thun post, pillar.—*Sthūṇā-*.

thringul threshing-fork.—*Try-aṅgula-*having three fingers.

thruṣni (extremely) thirsty.—*Tṛṣṇā-*.

threṣṭ'u onion.—*Tṛṣṭa-* pungent, etc. ?

thuṛt ford.—**Tūrtha-*, Skt. *tīrtha-*.

tong pear.—*Taṅka-*Feronia elephantum.

weč̌h-ik to want, covet.—*Upa + iccha-*.

wal guardian, watchman.—Sandhi-form, from *pāla-*.

wor woof.—*Upota-*wrapped, enveloped (T).- Also Wakhi *būt* woof could be derived from an Ir. equivalent.

-waruni, e. g. in *iṣperu-waruni* white-dressed.—*vāraṇīya-* ?

weṣ'u arrow.—**Upeṣuka-*, cf. *iṣu-*.

weṣ'o-ik to send, dispatch.—**Upeṣ-*, from *iṣ* to send out.

xal'-au (incorrect pronunc. *kāl'au* WAŠ) mouse.—In spite of *x-*, not *kh-*, cf. *khalapū-*one who cleans a threshing-floor.

ya, obl. *mo* this.—*Ayam*, *imam*.

yudur clear sky.—**Idhra-*, cf. *īdhriya-*.

yom'un winter.—*Hemanta-*.

yor sun.—*Aru-*? But why *y-*?

y'uru vein.—**Hirakā-*, *hirā-*.

žau son.—*yahu-*offspring, child.

že-ik to copulate.—*yabhaya-*.

žo grain, corn.—*Yava-*.

žoi irrigation-channel.—*Yavyā-*.

žib-ik (*žibom*), pret. *oyostam* ; perf. ptc. *žurdu* ; abs. *žuti* to eat. kal. *žu-*, Ashk. *yū-*, etc.—The derivation of Kaf.-Dard. *yu-*is uncertain.-Khow. pres. *žibo-*<**yu-vau-*<**yu-yau-* ?

žuγ louse.—*yūkā* -.

žal net.—*Jāla-*. -But with *žal* grove, copse (in *roγ-žal, daḷumžal*), cf. Kal. *jhal*—jungle, v. Nep. *jhār jhāl*.

žan-ik (*žanim*) to know.—*Jānāti*.

žun person (used with numerals).—Kal. *ǰun* < *jana-*.

žunlu alive.—*Jīvant* + *aka-* ? Cf. Nep. *jiūdo*.

žur daughter.—Kal. *čhul-*, *jhur* < **j (u)hūtā-*. Cf. Lüders, *Philologia Indica*, 497, sqq., regarding IA. words for daughter.

ẓoç WAS knotty, complicated, also about unruly, ever crying children. If the latter meaning is original, cf. *yakṣa-*?

WORDS FOR "WIFE'S SISTER'S HUSBAND" IN THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

BY

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Words for "wife's sister's husband" in the languages of India may be roughly classified into the following categories :—

A. Those which seem to have some apparent phonetic similarity.

B. Those, which like English names of similar type, are non-specific in character.

C. Those whose the underlying concept is unknown to the present writer, but which, if investigated, may throw some further light on the various aspects of this concept.

We shall take up these cases seriatim :—

A. The following phonetic similarities among words of this category are notable :—

(1) All of them begin with a sibilant, the overwhelming majority having the initial (*s*). But Tamil initial is (*ś*), while Telugu shows a variant of (ś) in Sanskrit-influenced pronunciation. Thus while in Hindi we have (*sāḍhū*)[1] or (*sā̃ṛhu*)[2], in Telugu we have (*saḍḍākūṛū*) or (*śaḍḍhākuṛū*)[3], the latter pronunciation being confined to Sanskrit-influenced speech-groups.

(2) All of them have a cerebral (ḍ ḍh, ṛ or ṛh). Thus the common Tamil equivalent, though written (śaṭṭakar) is actually pronounced (*śaḍḍahar*).[4] Even Pashtu shows (ḍ) in its equivalent *sōḍe*[5].

(3) Some of them, though only a minority, have a nasal sound after the initial syllable. The most notable word in this connection is Sindhi (Sanḍhu)[6], (Sāḍū), Panjabi (sā̃ḍhu). Most of the Lahndi dialects have (sāhḍū), but as the (ā) in this word is uttered with a high falling time, the nasal is lost as it is invariably lost in these dialects when this tone occurs, e. g. Lahndi

1. K. P. Kulkarni, *Marathi Vyutpattikoṣa*, Bombay, 1946.

2. *Bṛhat Hindi Kosha, Banaras*, Sam. 2009.

3. The present writer owes this material to the courtesy of Sri. Somayaji, Head of the Telugu Dept., Andhra University.

4. The present writer owes this information to his esteemed friend Mr. Srinivasan Aiyanger, Delhi.

5. This word was secured by the present writer through the courtesy of his friend Master Pratap Singh, from Pashtu speaking refugees in Delhi.

6. K. P. Kulkarni, *Ibid*, sub-voce.

(khåg) "cough", but Panjabi (khåṅg). Even Pashtū, as will be apparent from the above-mentioned (sōḍe), has this nasal sound.

With these phonetic preliminaries, we now proceed to examine the concept underlying the words containing these sounds. The underlying concept, according to usually accepted authorities[1] is "one who marries wife's sister". The Sanskrit word for the concept was supposed to be *śyālī-voḍhr-*, a word which is a pure fiction, for it nowhere occurs in Sanskrit literature. It is a pity that these lexicographical works should not have mentioned the sources from which this word has originated. But granted that this word is a hypothetical conjecture, the sound change, in which as many as five sounds (l+ī+v+o+ḍh) merge into one single sound (the cerebral ḍh or its variants) ; as Bloch explains it : the change being "l+ḍh of the succeeding syllable (p. 121), is a violence to the tradition of Indian philology.

Among Sanskrit Pandits of the old type[2] the words, of which the Hindi (sāṛhū) may be taken as a representative, are derived from Sanskrit (sahoḍha), so that the underlying concept taking the word literally, would be "together married". But the actual usage of the word, as presented in Sanskrit literature, will prohibit such a conjecture. For *sahoḍha* actually means "a son by another man than her husband—literally brought with'-(a woman pregnant at her marriage[3]) ; this is clear from references to Manu, Mahābhārata and Yājñavalkya-Smṛti given by Monier Williams). To build up a concept on such a flimsy basis is a glaring specimen of Popular Etymology. While the present writer has no definite counter-theory to offer, the following data suggest that the words of the (sārhu) type seem to indicate some contact with the associates for the word "bull" in Sanskrit :—

(1) Professor Turner, in his Nepali Dictionary, sub-voce (*sā̃ṛ*) or (*sā̃ṛh*), just mentions the word (sāṇḍaḥ) "uncontracted from which Pkt. (Saṇḍa) has been derived. Then he mentions the late Sanskrit (ṣaṇḍaḥ)" bull set out at liberty."

(2) Sindhi (ṣaṇḍhu), Panjabi (*sā̃ḍhu*) seem to be humorous, relics of the words of the (ṣaṇḍaḥ) type.

(3) Sindhi (ḍ), in this word, as attested by the present writer from actual pronunciation, is a double (ḍḍ) and with a preceding nasal, this double (ḍḍ) my be actually quite old. The corresponding (ḍḍ) in the Telugu and Tamil equivalents mentioned above seems to further corroborate the probability of this contact, though

1. (a) Bloch : *La formation de la langue marathe*, p. 121.
(b) *Hindi Śabda Sāgar*, Kashi, 1928, sub-voce sārhū.
(c) Kulkarni, *Ibid*.
2. As ascertained by the present writer from private conversations.
3. Cf. Monier Williams, *subvoce*.

the possibility of nasality in Dravidian dialectical parallels is still awaited.

The underlying concept of these words may therefore be humorous.

(B) Words of B category are of a general character. Thus Bengali (bhāyrā bhaī) "cousin-like brother" or (syālīpatibaī)[1] indicate an indefiniteness in the former, and a paraphrasal literary construction in the latter instance. Speech-groups of this type do not indicate any particular attention to the relationship concerned.

(C) Words of C category like Tibetan (piṅgya) (not available in Sarat Chandra Das: Tibetan-English Dictionary, 1902) and Sikkamese (chā-vo)[2] still await invetigation.

Conclusion.

The above study, it may be presumed, should give us the following conclusions :—

(1) A rigorous re-orientation of philological approach is desirable, in order to ward off all dilettantism and folk etymologies.

(2) The intricacies of historical linguistics, with the discovery of new linguistic horizons, are now enormously increasing. We should, under these circumstances, be more modest, trying to ascertain philological "contacts" rather than "causes" in the first instance.

(3) The dialects of India offer us a vast field for the orientation of concepts which underlie even these words which are widely spoken in the country. But who knows how many more concepts could be unearthed from them if they are systematically investigated ?

1. The present writer owes both these words to the courtesy of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.
2. The present writor owes both of these words to one of his relatiens posted in Sikkim.

SECTION III

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

INTERPRETATION OF SOME DIFFICULT MAHĀBHĀRATA PASSAGES

BY

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It is proposed to explain here some difficult passages of the Great Epic.

I

पण्यानां शोभनं पण्यं कृषीणां बाद्यते कृषिः ।
बहुकारं च सस्यानां वाह्ये वाह्यं तथा गवाम् ॥

[शान्तिपर्व, १८६.२०]

नीलकंठ—विप्राणां पूजनमेवोत्तमं पुण्यम् उत्तमा कृषिश्च तद्वत् दृष्टफलमित्यर्थः ।

अर्जुनमिश्र—पण्यानामिति । पण्यजीविना पण्यस्थाने प्रसारितं पण्यमिति स्पर्शापवादः ।

वादिराज—no commentary.

The true meaning of the *śloka* is a little obscure, but can be extracted by explaining the key words. Four things are commended here, which may be taken serially :

(a) पण्यानां शोभनं पण्यम—The first word पण्य means vendible articles in general, and the second पण्य refers to such articles as are on sale in the market and exposed as such in the shops, i.e पणितव्य according to Pāṇini III 1 101 (अवद्यपण्यवर्या गर्ह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु), on which the Kāśikā cites पण्यमिति निपात्यते पणितव्यं चेत्तद् भवति, पण्यः कम्बलः पण्या गौः. If one has to buy a blanket or a cow, one can buy it privately or one may go to the market-place and there make his selection out of the many things offered for sale. The articles manufactured for being sold in the shop through regular dealers are of better make and of a set standard, so the chances of being deceived are much less. So the common-sense precept arose that of things to be bought those that are offered for sale in a shop are better.

(b) कृषीणां बाद्यते कृषिः—The first word कृषि has reference to the several operations of ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing (cf. *kṛishantaḥ vapantaḥ lunantaḥ mṛiṇantaḥ*, *Śatapatha*, I. 6. 1. 3) which collectively go under the name of *kṛishi* (cf. *nānākriyāḥ kṛisherarthāḥ, nāvaśyaṁ kṛishir-vilekhana eva vartate,* Patañjali's *Bhāshya*, III. 1. 26; II. 33). The second *kṛishi* means only

'ploughing' from *krisha vilekhane*. Of the several operations involved in the growing of crops, the most important is deep and repeated ploughing, which ensures a bumper crop.

In this passage the word *bādyate* is difficult. Nīlakaṇṭha takes it as बाद्यते स्थिरीक्रियते। बद् स्थैर्ये इति धातुः। सधकारः पाठः प्रामादिकः। No doubt there is a root *bad* (Dhātupāṭha, 51) meaning 'to be firm' or 'steady' and its causal passive would be बाद्यते, i. e. amongst the various operations of agriculture, ploughing is emphasized by the owner of the field, who makes it the bedrock of all his work. Some MSS., of course of lesser authority, read ऋध्यतां, and others ऋध्यते. This would be an excellent reading, since the root ऋध् was used in the context of agricultural operations in the older literature (सीता मे ऋध्यतां देवी बीजेषु च धनेषु च, *Arthaśāstra*, II. 24). But there is a third possibility. In the dialect round about Meerut and Delhi, which may be presumed to have preserved the linguistic traditions of the ancient Kuru country, there is still a spoken verb बाजना meaning 'to be said' or 'to be known as.' This would be derived from Skt. *vādyate—bādyate* ; the meaning then would be : 'of the several processes involved in agriculture, ploughing is said to be most conducive of good results' (कृषीणां कृषिः शोभनं बाद्यते).

(c) बहुकारं च सस्यानाम्,—सस्य here means wet or standing crops, a meaning very well attested to by Kauṭilya ; बहुकार means 'weeding', 'cleansing'. Pāṇini gives the word बहुकर (III. 2. 21), and बहुकरी was a well known word for सम्मार्जनी;[1] broomstick was also called वर्धनी which is the same as बहुकरी, from which we have the two derivative words बहारी and बढ़नी in Hindi, and possibly in other dialects also. बहुकरी and वर्धनी were considered to be auspicious words. Even today the farmers and shopkeepers take care to avoid the use of other synonyms of a broomstick excepting such as have the sense of 'increase'. The Mbh. passage therefore means : सस्यानां बहुकारं शोभनम्, i. e. for the standing crops the most important process is weeding. If undergrowth and grass is weeded out, plants develop to their full strength.

(d) बाह्ये बाह्यं तथा गवाम्—Amongst vehicles, a carriage with bulls yoked to it is the best.

II

आत्मनासप्तमं कामं हत्वा शत्रुमिवोत्तमम्।
प्राप्यावध्यं ब्रह्मपुरं राजेव स्यामहं सुखी॥

[शान्ति, १७१.५२]

1. Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita*, परिजनोत्थापन-व्यापृत-व्यवहारिन् uses व्यवहारिन् in the sense of 'a sweeper', one who cleanses with a broomstick (Ho. VII).

नीलकंठ—तं हत्वा ब्रह्मैव पुरं ब्रह्मपुरं प्रविष्टः स्यां यतस्तदवध्यम्। कुतः। नास्य जरयैतज्जीर्यते न वधेनास्य हन्यते एतत्सत्यं ब्रह्मपुरमिति श्रुतेः।

सर्वज्ञनारायण—आत्मना सप्तमं कामं ब्रह्मपुरमवध्यम्।

अर्जुनमिश्र—आत्मना सप्तममिति। कामादि षड्‌पहितमात्मानं त्यक्त्वा केवलमात्मानमवस्थाय आत्मनः सप्तमममात्यादिप्रकृतिषट्कोपहितं हित्वा वेत्युपपन्नार्थः पाठः।

It is one of the most difficult passages in the whole epic. Who is this राजा? What is ब्रह्मपुर? Why is it called अवध्य? If we, like Arjuna Misra, take राजा as 'king', we shall altogether miss the true import of the passage. राजा here is यक्ष, and the real clue to understand the meaning is provided by the *Atharvaveda*, X. 2. 28-33. There ब्रह्मपुर is mentioned (पुरं यो ब्रह्मणो वेद यस्याः पुरुष उच्यते, X. 2. 28), as the citadel of Brahma, the latter word being synonymous with यक्ष. This ब्रह्मपुर is encircled by अमृत (यो वै तां ब्रह्मणो वेदामृतेनावृतां पुरम्, X. 2. 29), and therefore is an अपराजिता पुरी (X. 2 33), i. e. unassailed by Death. Naturally the presence of *amrita* in the city of Brahma keeps death at a distance. This idea is signified by the words अवध्यं ब्रह्मपुर of the epic. The Yaksha who resides in the Brahmapura is called आत्मन्वद् (तस्मिन् यद्यक्षमात्मन्वत्तद् वै ब्रह्मविदो विदुः, X. 2. 32), i. e. 'corporeal', 'having a body' (आत्मा = भूतात्मा, शरीर), and therefore meaning 'of colossal size'. In the epic phrase आत्मनासप्तमं कामं, आत्मा means 'body', as in Patañjali, द्वावात्मानावन्तरात्मा शरीरात्मा च, अन्तरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येन शरीरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति *Bhāshya*, I. 3. 67, *vār*. 9). The word आत्मनासप्तम should be taken as a compound (आत्मा सप्तमोऽस्यात्मनासप्तमः) on the analogy of आत्मनापंचमः as explained by Patañjali under Pāṇini VI. 3. 5, vār 2, अन्यार्थे च (आत्मा पंचमः अस्य आत्मनापंचमः). Therefore आत्मनासप्तमं कामं is to be understood as a group in which besides काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मोह मद, अहंकार, the six moral enemies, आत्मा or the body is the seventh, which all must be controlled to achieve mental peace, a state of mind that is no longer vulnerable to the temptations of the senses and the flesh. I am not sure if आत्मनासप्तमं कामं had any covert reference to the आत्म-षष्ठ-वाद of पकुधकच्चायन comprising a group of पृथिवी, जल, तेज, वायु as the four elements, and सुख, दुःख as the pair of pleasure and pain sensations, and आत्मा or body as the seventh. At any rate काम is said to be the arch enemy to be vanquished, and having done so one attains to an inviolable state of mind, which leads to perfect happiness. This is compared to the happiness of a Yaksha residing in his Brahmapura where death cannot trespass.

The word अवध्य, as above indicated, had reference to the immortality-bestowing elixir called अमृत guarded by the Yakshas in their citadel. The belief in the power of the Yakshas to confer immortality was deepseated. In iconography this was indicated

by the nectar-flask held in the left hand of the earliest **Yaksha** statues, which was later transferred to the Bodhisattva Maitreya figures. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is also a reference to the death-averting powers of the Yakshas : ब्रह्मदत्तवरो ह्येष अवध्यकवचावृतः (*Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. 71. 97, N. S. edn.). Here also ब्रह्म means यक्ष. In Ādiparvan 152. 18 the Brahma-maha festival is referred to, which was the same as the Jakkha-maha of ancient Jaina literature (cf. *Nāyā-dhamma kahā*, I. 25). In Adiparvan 21. 12, महत् and राजा both refer to a Yaksha, although applied to Garuḍa in that context.

III

काकुदीकं शुकं नाकमक्षिसंतर्जनं तथा ।
संतानं नर्तनं घोरमास्यमोदकमष्टकम् ॥
एतैर्विद्धाः सर्व एव मरणं यान्ति मानवाः ।
उन्मत्ताश्च विचेष्टन्ते नष्टसंज्ञा विचेतसः ॥

[Udyoga, 94. 38-39]

The first verse is a conundrum or riddle, being deliberately so worded.

काकुदीक—a bull, with a big hump.

शुक—a parrot, with a curved nose (वक्रनक)

नाक—blissful condition, free from all pain.

अक्षिसंतर्जन—the eye-ailment.

संतान—a celestial tree, or its flowers, which give an intoxicating drink.

नर्तन—the strutting, vaingloriously dancing peacock.

घोर—the frightful or tormenting one, Bhairava.

आस्यमोदक—sweet-balls in the mouth.

So in one whiff, eight incongruous names are uttered, which in Hindi would read like this :

कूबड़वाला बैल, टेढ़मुहाँ सुग्गा, मौजमजे वाला स्वर्ग, दुखती आँख, मद चुआने वाला कल्पवृक्ष, मटकता मोर, सतानेवाला घोर भैरव, मुँह का लड्डू—ये आठ जिसे बींध देते हैं वह मर जाता है, बौरा जाता है या बेहोश हो जाता है ।

I think each one is symbolical of the conventional moral lapses, which Devabodha, as cited by Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, rightly enumerates as :

कामक्रोधौ लोभमोहौ मदमानौ तथैव च । मात्सर्याहंकृती चैव क्रमादेत उदाहृताः ॥

The humped bull, वृष, is a well known symbol of काम or lust, the parrot with an awry face of anger, the strutting peacock of vanity, the ailing eye of delusion (मोह) which loses the faculty of correct perception, and नाक or the abode where one thinks one rises above all worldly ills, is greed or lust for wealth. संतान is one of the five trees of Indra's heaven, and its another name was मन्दार. The word *manda* was connected with *mada* or intoxication, and संतान was therefore taken to be an apt symbol of मद. आस्यमोदक, the imaginary sweet ball, stands for pleasurable conceits which one imagines about oneself. The word occurs only once in literature; the lexicons take it as the name of a mythical weapon (Monier Williams), but that meaning is not plausible here. I think Devabodha had got the correct implications of these words, and if his commentary on the verse had been preserved, we would have perhaps been better enlightened.

IV

जलेचरः कांचनयष्टिसंस्थो व्यात्ताननः सर्वतिमिप्रमाथी ।

वित्रासयन् राजति वाहमुख्ये शाल्वस्य सेनाप्रमुखे ध्वजाग्र्यः ॥

[Āraṇyaka, 18.7]

In Āraṇyaka, 18.2, the banner of Śālva is said to be मकरकेतु ; जलेचर therefore is मकर here In sculpture we actually come across a banner of this type surmountd by a *makara* with gaping mouth which forms its flag (Lucknow Museum, sculpture no. 46.13). It is illustrated in a relief found at Ahichchhatrā and published in the *Buddhist Art Album* (1956, Publications Bureau, Lucknow).

The epithets कांचनयष्टिसंस्थ and व्यात्तानन are graphically seen in that example. The verse may thus be translated as follows :

The *makara* with open jaws—a death to the *timi* fish—being perched on a golden staff, struck terror as the top of the flag fluttered at the head of Śālva's cavalry.

Here the *dhvaja* did not have the sign of *makara* marked on its flag, but the flag was actually of the form of a *makara*. With this may be compared *Raghuvaṁśa* VII. 40, referring to a मत्स्यध्वज, in which case also the flag-cloth was actually cut in the form of a fish, so that when puffed with air, it looked like a real fish with gaping mouth.

V

कच्चिद्बलं च मुष्टिं च परराष्ट्रे परन्तप ।

अविहाय महाराज विहंसि समरे रिपून् ॥

[Sabhā, 5, 54]

नीलकंठ—लवः सस्यच्छेदनकालः । मुष्टिः सस्यानां गोपनकाल; दुर्भिक्षमिति यावत् । लूञ् छेदने मुष स्तेये आभ्यामधिकरणे धक्तिनौ । परराष्ट्रे क्षेत्रस्थेषु सस्येषु सुखलभ्याद्वैदुर्भिक्षे च राजकुलाद्धभक्तोपजीविभिर्निरन्नताक्रान्ताः शत्रवः सुखं जेया इत्यर्थः ।

Nīlakaṇṭha misses the technical import of लव and मुष्टि. The *Arthaśāstra* lays down a similar policy for the king wishing to march against his enemy to so adjust the time of march that he may be able to destroy the wet crops and the harvested grain. The wet crops of the rainy season (वार्षिक सस्य) would ripen by November as हैमन मुष्टि, which a king starting on his conquest (यात्रा) in Mārgaśīrsha would be able to destroy, thus depriving the enemy country of its food supplies. This would correspond to the present day *kharīf* crops. The *rabī* crop is sown in winter (हैमन सस्य) and harvested in spring by March April (वासन्तिक मुष्टि), and one who undertakes his campaign of conquest in Chaitra would be able to commandeer that produce (*Arthaśāstra*, IX-I, Text Shama Sastri edn. p. 341). The epic passage aims at a similar time-table for the king. *Mushti* meaning ripened crops or harvested produce is common to both the epic and Kauṭilya, and the probability is that लव is the same as सस्य of the *Arthaśāstra*. सस्य from शसु हिंसायाम् (provided it was originally pronounced as शस्य) and लव from लूञ् छेदने point to a similar semantic background.

VI

वेदिकापाश्रिताभिश्च समाक्रान्तान्यनेकशः ।
प्रचलन्तीव भारेण योषिद्भिर्भवनान्युत ॥

[Udyoga, 92. 25]

वेदिकापाश्रिताभिः is of obscure meaning. There is no commentary on this stanza. वेदिका was an architectural term, originally denotiug a railing, but later on the upper terrace or parapet of a household or palace having a railing on the frontside. These are often illustrated in the sculptured scenes at Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura etc, i. e. only in early Indian art up to the Kushāṇa period (Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture*, I. Cities and City-gates, Fig. 5.; III. Palaces, Fig. 7-9). Women mutually press and crowd on these balconies looking at scenes below. The *vedikās* in many cases take the form of projecting verandahs framed on the outside by small railings, behind which young women stand in excitement (cf. *Buddhacharita*, III. 19-21 ; *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII. 6-8). The *vedikā* in the above verse should be taken as being on the *upari-tala*, upper floor or *ākāśa-tala*, sky-floor of the *prāsāda* or *vimāna*.

VII

विद्याद्बहुपठन्तं तु बहुपाठीति ब्राह्मणम् ।
तस्मात् क्षत्रिय मा मंस्था जल्पितेनैव ब्राह्मणम् ।
य एव सत्यान्नापैति स ज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणस्त्वया ॥ २९ ॥
छन्दांसि नाम क्षत्रिय तान्यथर्वा जगौ पुरस्तादृषिसर्ग एषः ।
छन्दोविदस्ते य उ तानधीत्य न वेद्यवेदस्य विदुर्न वेद्यम् ॥ ३० ॥
न वेदानां वेदिता कश्चिदस्ति कश्चिद्वेदान् बुध्यते वापि राजन् ।
यो वेद वेदान्न स वेद वेद्यं सत्ये स्थितो यस्तु स वेद वेद्यम् ॥३१॥

[Udyoga, 43. 29-31]

The meaning of the above three verses ought to be grasped with clarity. Three types of scholars are here distinguished, viz. (1) बहुपाठी or छन्दोविद्, (2) वेद्यवेदस्य वेदिता, and (3) वेदवित्. Let us understand their import. The बहुपाठी ब्राह्मण was one who recited the Vedic mantras in more than one way (बहुपठन्तं), i. e. one who had mastered the संहितापाठ, पदपाठ, क्रमपाठ, etc. of a particular Veda. Such scholars were known in Pāṇini's time by the name of श्रोत्रिय (cf. the *Sūtra* श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते, V. 2. 84). The Mbh. calls them छन्दोविदः, and particularly mentions their very limited orbit by stating that Vedic Pandits of this category neither interested themselves in वेद्यवेद nor in वेद्य.

The second class of scholars was a superior type, who studied the meaning of the Vedic Mantras. They are mentioned here as वेदानां वेदिता. Pāṇini refers to them in the *Sūtra* तदधीते तद्वेद, the तदधीते category merging into the तद्वेद on attaining maturity in their subject of study. What they aimed at mastering was the real secret of Veda, the meaning of the hymns, which is implied in the word वेद्यवेद. About छन्दोविद् or श्रोत्रियs it is stated that they did not know the meaning (न वेद्यवेदस्य विदुः). About वेदवेदिता it is said that they were comparatively fewer in number (न वेदानां वेदिता कश्चिदस्ति), or there were some who studied the Vedas and knew their meaning (कश्चिद्वेदान् बुध्यते).

But even this second class of scholars had their limitation when tested on the touchstone of true knowledge. What was really worth knowing (वेद्य) was Truth (सत्य) and those who had realised सत्य were those about whom it could be said that *they truly knew* (सत्ये स्थितो यस्तु स वेद वेद्यम्). Here we get a glimpse of the educational ideals of the Upanishadic age and of the shifting emphasis from mere scholastic learning to the realisation of Truth. The same strain is continued in the following verse :

अभिजानामि ब्राह्मणमाख्यातारं विचक्षणम् ।
यश्छिन्नविचिकित्सः सन्नाचष्टे सर्वसंशयान् ॥ [Udyoga, 43, 32]

The word आख्याता is technical, being also the key-word for the meaning of the stanza. As shown by the *Sūtra* आख्यातोपयोगे (I. 4. 29), आख्याता was a teacher who imparted instruction in religious texts according to a fixed ceremonious mode. This was the pedagogic procedure followed in the Vedic *Charaṇas* or academies of sacred literature devoted to the study of *Chhandas and Brāhmaṇa* works and other texts subsidiary to them. These teachers were the same as प्रवक्ता (cf. *Sūtra* II. 1. 65 which distinguishes प्रवक्ता from श्रोत्रिय and from अध्यापक, (the last being a teacher of non-Vedic literature), whose duty it was to impart instruction in the Vedic texts (प्रवचन).

The stanza then signifies: 'That Brāhmaṇa I regard as an आख्याता or प्रवक्ता teacher of real insight who, with his own doubts dispelled, removes the doubts of others.' The implication is that such a one should not only be conversant with the meaning of Veda but also must be a man of realisation. He should have attained perfection in esoteric knowledge, i e. the spiritual condition envisaged in भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।

The word वेदिता is significant. It reminds us of Pāṇini's तदधीते तद्वेद, i. e. अध्येतृ-वेदितृ of the grammarians, which were general words denoting students and scholars of the different branches of learning. Yāska in his *Nirukta* had used the word in this special sense earlier than Pāṇini (cf. पारोवर्यवित्सु तु खलु वेदितृषु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्यो भवति, I. 10.16). One who had learnt one subject with its traditional lore was a वेदिता, but one who had mastered several such subjects was known as भूयोविद्य, and the great master who knew all the sciences of his day was distinguished as सर्वविद्य. The technical title of a सर्वविद्य teacher was ब्रह्मा as stated by Yāska ब्रह्मा सर्वविद्यः सर्वं वेदितुमर्हति (निरुक्त, I. 1. 3). Nārada was such a सर्वविद्य teacher, as shown by the *Vidyās* that he had mastered, of which a list is given in the छान्दोग्य उपनिषद्.

INDRA'S FIGHT AGAINST VṚTRA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

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When E. Washburn Hopkins wrote his famous '*Epic Mythology*' in 1915, he contrasted in section 72 the most important versions of the Indra-Vṛtra-fight in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with each other. He showed that the first phase of the version in the Śāntiparvan (XII, 342, 28sqq.) is the same as that in the *TS.* II, 5, 1,[1] that the version of the Udyogaparvan (V, 9 sqq.) is very similar to that of the Śāntiparvan, and that two *ślokas* of the Udyoga version are the same as those in the version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 85 sq.)[2]

To-day we possess Sukthankar's critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* including the edition of the Udyogaparvan by S. K. De, published in 1937. And of the *Rāmāyaṇa* we know the North-western, the Bengal and some South Indian editions. Thus, a detailed comparison of the Vṛtra-legend in both these epics is fairly possible. We can already say that not only two, but a dozen *ślokas* are the same in the Udyogaparvan and the *Rāmāyaṇa* versions and that De's critical edition of the Udyoga is very well done. Of course, it is impossible to show the details of textual criticism in this paper.[3] But we might advise the editors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Baroda to study this valuable testimonium which shows that none of the printed *Rāmāyaṇas* has preserved the old text, that all of them must be critically studied for every single *akṣara*.

Neither can one say that either of the two epics has preserved the original text of this legend. The text of the Udyogaparvan is very much longer than that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The dozen common *ślokas* are standing together in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in one group, but in the Udyoga they have been split up into three groups of verses and have been transposed. But it seems from some detail[4] that the position of the *ślokas* in the Udyoga might be older than that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also there are *ślokas* which look like interpolations[5].

1. In a similar way the *Kathopaniṣad* begins with *TBr* III, 11, 8.
2. Later e. g. in *Bhāg. Pur.* VI, 7 sqq.
3. Cf. our Appendix pp. 126-8.
4. As e. g. *tataḥ* in *śl.* 6 of our Appendix p. 127.
5. As e. g. *Rām.* VII, 86, 10-17 : *brahmahatyā* distributed, an idea similar to the Pretakalapa (E. Abegg, Der *Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, Berlin-Leipzig 1921, 91 Anm. 1).

As regards the legend, as told in Udyogaparvan, I think that W. Kirfel in his book about the Three-headed Goddess (printed in 1948) was the last[1] to deal with it. Without mentioning Hopkins he compiles several texts about the fight between Indra and Triśiras, a fight which precedes Indra's fight against Vṛtra in the Śānti and Udyogaparvans. Kirfel starts from Indo-Iranian times, from Trita Āptya's fight against Triśiras. In the Yajurveda-saṁhitā this fight against Triśiras is ascribed already to Indra and it is mentioned that Triśiras was the *purohita* of the gods. Thus, when Indra killed him, his was the sin of *brahmahatyā*. This is the story also found in the Udyoga and Śānti versions of our myth of Vṛtra.

By the by, may I mention that Indra after his victory fled on account of that sin, hid himself in the waters and moved there like a snake? This is surely an Indian variant of the old Teutonic legend of Loki, who hid in a very similar way when he had killed Baldur. It is remarkable that several variants of the Loki myth can be traced in India e.g. in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, in Alberuni's *India* and even among the Kotas of the Nilgiris, where Emeneau has found it.[2]

In the Śāntiparvan Indra's fight against Vṛtra is told with a lot of details and interpolations. It begins with the killing of Triśiras, in which Dadhyañc helps Indra, offering his life. After killing Vṛtra Indra flees like Loki. Then, because there is now no king of the gods, the gods choose Nahusha[3] as their king. Nahusha behaves badly against Indra's wife Sacī[4] and against the Brahmins,[5] till he is cursed by Agastya and thrown from the throne of the gods.

In Udyoga there are still more details. Indra was not able to kill Triśiras. He fought, but a carpenter cut off the head of Triśiras, after Indra had said that he was willing to take that sin on himself. He pretended cynically that he later on would make good the sin by asceticism.

In the fight against Vrtra, Indra first suffered a defeat. Then he asked Viṣṇu for help, and Viṣṇu advised him to cheat Vṛtra by a false contract. In the name of Indra therefore the

1. W. Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit*, Bonn 1948, 31 sqq.—J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954 does not touch our problems, neither does R. N. Dandekar, Vṛtrahā Indra, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXXI, Poona 1951, 1 sqq. He quotes for our problem: Gajendragadkar in XIII AIOC, Summary 1946 (not at my disposal).

2. W. Ruben, Ueber die Literatur der vorarischen Stämme Indiens, Berlin 1952, 111 sq.

3. King of the Moon-dynasty: *Mbh* XII, 342, 44.

4. As did Vālin with Tārā, and the asura vijayī: Kauṭalya 162, 16 (ed. Jolly).

5. Contrast Durvāsas and Rukmiṇī (W. Ruben, Kṛishna, Istanbul 1943, 236 sq).

Ṛṣīs asked Vṛtra for a contract and Vṛtra agreed under the condition (similar to the old one of Namuci[1]) that he should not be killed by a weapon, neither wet nor dry, neither by day nor by night, etc. Thereupon Indra slew him with foam in dusk-time.

Then follows the story of Nahusha, and it is only when he is cursed that Indra can ascend to heaven, then too after having offered a horse-offering to Viṣṇu on his advice in order to expiate his sin[2].

Viṣṇu is helping Indra against Vṛtra already in the *Ṛgveda*. But here, in the epics he plays a role similar to that of Kṛṣṇa, helping the Pāṇḍavas. He advises Indra to cheat Vṛtra with the intentionally false contract; he further on enters Indra's *vajra* inside its form, in order to kill Vṛtra, and he asks finally for the horse-offering. Therewith he takes the responsibility for the sin of *brahmahatyā* from Indra.

Kṛṣṇa's role on the side of the Pāṇḍavas and Viṣṇu's role as helper of Indra are similar to that of Kauṭalya in Viśākhadatta's drama *Mudrārākṣasa*: There the king Candragupta is the innocent monarch, but his premier Kauṭalya does the dirty work of despotic politics for him. Thus the Indra-myth reflects some side of the despotic court in old India.

In the version of our myth in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Vṛtra is described as a very just king. Life under him was like that in paradise. This pious king Vṛtra began to strive for asceticism and heaven, till Indra killed him.

In another version in the *Māhābhārata*, also in Śāntiparvan[3], Vṛtra is depicted as a pious Vaiṣṇava.

Thus, Vṛtra is to be compared with Bali, the pious Vaiṣṇava king of the Asuras, who was killed by Viṣṇu only because Indra in heaven could not stand his competition. Bali was sent by Viṣṇu in his Vāmana incarnation to hell, where he is waiting for his time, when he will become again the glorious king of the world in the place of Indra. In the Śāntiparvan there is a dialogue in which Bali teaches Indra the instability of fortune[4]. There is a similar dialogue of Namuci[5] and in the last mentioned Vrtra version of the Śāntiparvan[6]; there is also a similar description of Vrtra

1. H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, 157. Told about Hiraṇyakaśipu (W. Ruben, *Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien*, Leiden 1939, 246).

2. Such a use of the horse-offering already in *Śat*. Br. XIII, 3, 1, 1; 5, 3.

3. *Mbh*. XII. 279. Cf. *Śat. Br*. V, 5, 5, 1 sqq.; Vṛtra teaches the Vedas to Indra.

4. *Mbh*. XII, 223 sqq.

5. *Mbh*. XII, 226.

6. *Mbh*. XII, 279.

as such a pious Vaiṣṇava. Finally, in our Udyoga text Nahuṣa also, when cursed, belongs to such a group of waiting Asura-aspirants to Indra's heavenly throne.

The *Brahmapurāṇa*[1] speaks of several pious Asuras like Vṛtra, Namuci etc. who were worshipped by the Hindus in their own *tīrthas*. To this fairly long list of the *Brahmapurāṇa* others may be added, as e. g. Madhu who was killed by Viṣṇu just after the creation of the world and whose *tīrtha* I saw on the top of the Mandāra-hill in eastern Bihar.[2] Very interesting in this regard is also the long story of the Asura Maya in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[3] and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* : Maya was helped by Śiva against Indra's favorite Sūryaprabha, and the Asura won ! Added may be the Asura Mahiṣa, killed according to the Purāṇas by Devī Mahiṣāsuramardinī, but up to to-day worshipped by thousands of people in Chota Nagpur.[4]

It may be that some of these Asuras originally have been gods and godlings of pre-Vedic Indians, degraded into Asuras by the Brahmins. But more important is, that they are treated as martyrs by the Vaiṣṇava poets, who were the authors of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the two epical records of the deeds of the two Viṣṇu-incarnations Kṛṣṇa and Rāma.

For the historian of Indian religion the main point is that Indra in this story plays such a contemptible role. Let us look back.

Already in the *Ṛgveda* there are stanzas to show that some people did not believe in Indra. They asked : Who has seen him ? Where is Indra ?[5] In that old age there could not have lived a materialist, because materialism is philosophy, and philosophy did not exist in India prior to the Upaniṣads. But when we read in a *Ṛgvedic* passage that there is in reality only one god to whom people attributed names like Indra, Mitra etc. out of poetic fancy[6], it becomes clear that certain monotheists were criticising the worshippers of Indra, the polytheists of old Vedic type. Whether these monotheists believed already in Siva or Viṣṇu cannot yet be decided.

In the *Yajurveda*, in the *Taittirīyasaṁhitā*, Indra is already accused of killing the Brahmin Triśiras. But in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* I. 2, 3, 2 it is pretended that Indra remained free from

1. 70, 35, sq. ; cf. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona 1930 sqq. III, 653 sq. ; Gayā.
2. Ruben, *Eisenschmiede* (cf. note 11) fig. 59.
3. *Kathās.* 44-50.
4. Rubben, *Eisenschmiede* 291 sqq.
5. *RV* II, 12, 5 ; VIII, 100,3
6. *RV.* I, 164, 46 ; cf. *Śat. Br.* XI, 1, 6, 9 sq. : Indra's fight against Asuras denied !

the sin of killing the Brahmin only because he was a god! On the other hand, the story of Indra's flight into the water is mentioned in the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* III, 15.[1] This means that there was some kind of discussion, or theological fight, going on about the question whether Indra was a sinner or not, Indra who some very short time before had been the highest god of the Vedic people or at least the priests.

The Buddhists, of course, did not think very highly of Indra. In Jātaka 31 it is told how Indra lived first with the 33 gods in heaven together with the Asuras. He made the Asuras drunk and drove them out of heaven. But the Asuras tried to come back and to climb Mount Meru. Indra stormed against them to defend his heavenly kingdom, but he was defeated and had to run away to the south. He fled on his car through the jungles and thereby destroyed the trees and the nests of Garuḍa birds thereon. When he saw how he killed these innocent birds, he felt pity and resolved not to run away farther but to offer his own life in the fight against the Asuras instead of the life of the birds. He turned back. But the Asuras when they saw him coming back thought, that he must have formed a new army, and they fled. Thus Indra conquered his heavenly kingdom again. In this way, according to the Buddhists, not the *fighting*, but the *pitiful*, the pious, the quasi-Buddhist Indra got his kingdom back. The old Vedic Indra who makes his enemies drunk, is severely criticised in this old Buddhist story, that means by the Buddhist monks, not only by the Vaiṣṇava epic bards.

We do not yet know the exact date of this Jātaka story. But it may be not too far away from the date of the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the Udyoga- and Śānti-myths of Indra. In the *Bṛhaddevatā* the story of how Indra killed Vṛtra with the help of Viṣṇu is told in quite a similar way as in the Ṛgveda.[2] But in the story of Indra killing Triśiras, a Brahmical voice told Indra that he was a sinner, a killer of a Brahmin.[3]

The Ṛṣi Sindhudvīpa then threw some water on Indra and sang a Ṛgvedic hymn for the expiation of the god.

In a similar way it is told in another short version of the myth in the *Rāmāyaṇa* I, 24 that after Indra's killing Vṛtra, some gods and Ṛṣis bathed Indra with pots of water and made him clean of the spot of the sin of having killed a Brahmin.

The evidence of the *Bṛhaddevatā* shows that in these times even such circles of Brahmins who tried to keep Indra in his

1. Similar *Śat. Br.* IV, 1, 3, 1 sqq. ; I, 6, 4 1 sqq.
2. *Bṛhaddevatā* VI, 122, sq.
3. VI, 149 sqq.

old Vedic position as king of the gods had to acknowledge his sin of Brahmicide and had to tell of his expiation—of course, with the help of Vedic rituals.

Some South-Indian manuscripts of the Udyogaparvan mention that some ghosts of Śiva also branded Indra as Brahmicide.[1]

This means that Vaiṣṇava epic bards, Buddhist monks and some Śaivas also criticised Indra in these old times, and even the late Vedic Brahmins of the Bṛhaddevatā had to give in.

But not only on the occasion of Triśiras and Vṛtra did they criticise Indra. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is told how the devilish Rāvaṇa, the giant and tyrant, defeated Indra, while Rāvaṇa was defeated by heroes like Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the monkey-king Vālin and by Śiva himself.[2] In the *Harivaṁśa* it is Kṛṣṇa as *Govardhana-dhārī* who defeates Indra, when Indra attacks with his storm the cows of Kṛṣṇa's people. No pious Hindu would dare to attack cows the way Indra did. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 48 sq. there is the story of how Indra cheated the pious lady Ahalyā, similar to Zeus in the disguise of Amphitryon. In the *Mahābhārata* III, 227 there is the Śaiva myth of how Indra was defeated by Skanda, Śiva's son. And in III, 124 there is the legend of the old ascetic Cyavana who made Indra's elbow stiff, so that he could not throw his *vajra* against Cyavana. These texts show that during this period the masses of the Indian religions, the Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Bauddha (perhaps also the Jaina) criticised Indra, and only a small group of still Vedic Brahmins tried to keep his religion alive.

But there was quite an opposite side to this line of belief. I briefly mentioned above that it is pretended in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* at the end of the myth of Triśiras that Indra as a god remained free from the sin of Brahmicide. This text does not stand quite alone ! In the *Kauṣītakyupniṣad* there is the valuable document of king Pratardana of Kāśi, to whom Indra himself, according to the legend, showed his heavenly greatness : Indra boasts there that he has slain Triśiras, that he has delivered some Ṛṣis to wolves, that he has broken contracts (as Indra according to our myth did in the case of Vṛtra !), that he has killed enemies, but that not even a hair of his has been touched ! Indra reveals himself there to king Pratardana as the *ātman*, as the highest principle and pretends that he who knows Indra as the highest *ātman*, has not to suffer from any sin, even if he acts like the god himself. He may act as a thief, as a killer of father and mother or as a killer of an embryo. This last

1. *Mbh.* V, 13 ed. Do 90 interpolation.
2. *Ram.* VII, 27 ; 16 ; 31 sqq.

point, the killing of embryos, is sometimes interpreted by Hindu commentators as killing of Brahmins.

This very old text together with the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* shows that it was not only a personal opinion of some Brahmins, but that there existed a group of Brahmins who taught the sinlessness of Indra—and of the despot, if he only believed in Indra as the highest *ātman*, quite in accordance with the Upaniṣad-doctrine that no sin hangs on the great mystic, as no drop of water hangs on the leaf of a lotus.

In the *Mahābhārata* it is Duryodhana who stands in favour of Indra, the Brahmicide. The old venerable *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, in a long discussion, tries in vain to get Duryodhana reconciled with the Pāṇḍavas, so that Duryodhana might not grudge Yudhiṣṭhira the throne. Duryodhana refuses to give in. He lays stress on the point that a king cannot live according to the standard of ordinary people. Duryodhana quotes Bṛhaspati who, as he says, has taught that the king has always to think of his own advantage. In this context Duryodhana praises Indra for becoming able to kill Namuci by the way of the false contract, having made a cantract of friendship before. This, he says, is acknowledged as the eternal behaviour against an enemy. (*Mbh.* II, 55, 13 vulg.).

Duryodhana, according to the *Mahābhārata*[1], is incarnated Kali, the incarnation of the spirit of falsehood of our world-period, the bad, quasi-devilish antagonist of Yudhiṣṭhira who all through this epic is helped by Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Duryodhana is the representative of the evil, the enemy *kat' exochēn* of the god Kṛṣṇa. He is the immoral politician and the intriguing plotter against the pious, just Yudhiṣṭhira, who is the incarnation of the god of law and justice, Dharma. Thus the two fronts of morals and sin are clear. And it is natural that the Vaishṇava authors of the epic who favoured, quite in accordance with the moral feeling of the masses of Indian people, the victory of the good over the evil, should have put the defence and praise of Indra, the sinner, into the mouth of this bad schemer, Duryodhana. They did it in order to show that it was not at all their own idea of justice, religion and morals.

Now one must keep in mind that at nearly the same time there was in India the contrast of Artha and Dharmaśāstra. The *Dharmaśāstra* of Kauṭalya taught unscrupulous politics as unavoidable for the despot.[2] The Dharmaśāstra of Manu on the other hand taught morals, religion, devotion etc. as the leading principle for kings too. The religious and moral critics of Indra

1. *Mbh.* I, 67 ; XV, 3, 1.

2. Similar ; Kaṇika Bhāradvāja (*Mbh* I, 140=App 1 Nr. 81 Sukth.; Kauṭ 93, 54 ; Bhāradvāja ; *Mbh* XII 140)

thus illustrate some aspects of political discussion of these old Indian days. The religious critics attacked in the person of Indra the politicians, the despots and the premiers of their own times, the followers of Kauṭalya who, in his *Arthaśāstra* describes the politics of his time in a quite realistic way.

But Kāmandaka, the famous follower of Kauṭalya, declared in his *Nītisāra* that a king under certain circumstances must even kill his own ally, just as Indra slew Triśiras (VIII, 63) and a clever king shall never trust his enemy even if he is bound by a treaty, just as Indra slew Vṛtra while openly declaring cessation of enmity (IX, 33). Kāmandaka here stands side by side with Duryodhana.

The moral and religious criticisers pretended that Indra was expiated with the help of the Brahmanical rituals, especially the horse offering. In this way pious Brahmins opened a door for the despots : You may sin as long as you are ready to arrange for valuable rituals, to pay us for the performance of these costly rituals. They described even Viṣṇu himself as the unscrupulous adviser, quite similar to Kauṭalya himself. Viṣṇu had to help Indra, just as Kṛṣṇa had to help Yudhiṣṭhira, because the fate of the world, the eternal war of the Gods and the good against the Asuras and the evil demanded that. This is human fate, it cannot be helped. Mankind has to suffer from despots, bad gods and devils. But the priests can help in the end, that the devilish god and despot becomes pure in the end, although there is no hint that the purified Indra will in future behave like a moral man !

This criticism against Indra and the old Vedic ritualistic type of Brahmin in favour of the Puranic Brahmins happened in a world of polemics. Then, Vaiṣṇavas were fighting against Śaivas, Bauddhas and Jainas ; Vedānta-Sāṁkhya of the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* etc. was struggling against Lokāyata Materialism, and the followers of the *Arthaśāstra* against those of the Dharmaśāstra. There is no doubt that the people of India were so terribly suffering from despotism that the priests and poets of the epics could not avoid singing of the sin of Indra, and they had to try to quiet the suffering people by telling them of the final expiation of Indra- although they had also to give in and to acknowledge that some time in future the empire of Indra will be overthrown by the just king Bali, though now in eclipse and suffering.

These Brahmins made use of the old myth in this new way : They showed to the people a series of criminal despots: Indra, having murdered Triśiras, is overthrown by Vṛtra. Indra then kills Vṛtra, but flees. His successor is the tyrant Nahuṣa, who is cursed by Brahmin Agastya. Then Indra, purified by the horse-offering, but not morally bettered, becomes king again,

only to be overthrown by Bali in future. This is a picture of cowardly, unscrupulous, lying, voluptuous despots and usurpers, terribly well known to every ancient Hindu from his daily life. But this Brahmanical, epical picture suggests to the masses of listeners, that the life of the world is impossible without kings. The world was suffering from hunger etc. since the moment Indra had fled, because there is no life without a ruler; he may even belong to such a series of bad despots. Despots are the fate of mankind; this is one of the teachings of this myth. For mankind there is no other way than to keep quiet, to suffer, to wait till the fight is temporarily over and till the priests expiate the sinner. God Viṣṇu and the Brahmins are the only helpers in eternity.

The Ṛgvedic religion with the primitive fighter-god Indra was part of the Ṛgvedic civilization, a society of freemen of *tribes* when they had just arrived and conquered the Panjab. But epic mythology with this series of despotic heavenly kings belongs to a civilization of nearly Mauryan times, of a despotic *state* approximately of the type described by Kauṭalya where, as Hegel said, all people except the despot himself lived more or less like slaves. This type of Old-Indian state began already to develop in the time of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, when Indra was for the first time accused by some critics of having killed the Brahmin Triśiras, and was by others defended as being sinless. On the whole, this myth is an instructive example showing the difference between Vedic religion and Hinduism.

But Hinduism has quite an other aspect too! Every educated Indian (at least in Northern-India) in the period of the last centuries B. C. knew of Ajātaśatru of Magadha who had killed his own father Bimbisāra, knew of Viḍūḍabha of Kośala who had destroyed his maternal tribe, the Sākyas, knew of Mahāpadma the Nanda and Śūdra, who usurped the throne of the Śaiśunāgas, and knew of Candragupta Maurya who deprived the Nandas of their throne. Kauṭalya quoted even the doctrine of Bhāradvāja that the minister should, the moment the old king is lying on his deathbed, make the princes fight each other and occupy himself the throne.[1] In such a situation of wide-spread despotic usurpatorship Brahmins around Mathurā preached the glory of Kṛṣṇa who killed the despot and usurpator Kaṁsa, Brahmins of Ayodhyā sang of Rāma who killed the devilish despot Rāvaṇa; others praised Viṣṇu who, in the shape of a boar, beheaded the Asura Hiraṇyākṣa, who in the shape of Narasiṁha tore to pieces Hiraṇyākṣa's brother Hiraṇyakaśipu, and who finally as Vāmana defeated Hiraṇyakaśipu's grandson Bali, thus describing a line of Asura-kings who resemble

1. Arthaśāstra VI, 96 (Ganapati Sāstri II, 220, sqq.),

in some respects the line of bad despots in our Indra-Vrtra-myth, all of them killed by Viṣṇu's Avatāras. Therefore Kṛṣṇa in *Bhag-Gī.* IV, 7 rightly claims that whenever Dharma weakens and Adharma raises its head he, Viṣṇu, creates himself as the helper of mankind.

Kṛṣṇa became the god and hero of numerous sects who during the Feudal Ages taught that he as God in eternity upholds Dharma against Asuras and despots. Political movements of progressive character appear in the form of such sectarian movements in India as well as in other countries in corresponding stages of social development.

But again we have to look at another side of Vaishaṇava mythology. Vāmana defeated Bali by cheating. Rāma killed Vālin in a treacherous way. Kṛṣṇa, quite in contrast to Rāma who always spoke truth, argued (in *Mbh.* VIII, 69, 46 sqq) for the necessity of sometimes lying, and he did accordingly in the great battle in the *Mbh* VII, 190, when he advised the Pāṇḍavas to tell the lie that Aśvatthāman, Droṇa's son, had been killed because otherwise Droṇa could not be defeated. The Pāṇḍavas acted accordingly and Yudhiṣṭhira even was obliged to repeat the lie. At the end he came to hell for this lie (by the by : not Kṛṣṇa, the instigator !). This shows that the moral feeling of the Indian people demanded some punishment even of Yudhiṣṭhira the king, who always stressed the point that he favoured morals. The Vaiṣṇava poets had to contradict themselves by sometimes apologizing for, and sometimes accusing the liar.

In *Mbh.* XII, 141 it is told how Viśvāmitra, the famous saint, once in an emergency tried to steal dog's flesh from the house of a Śūdra and had to defend himself against the quite justifiable moral shouting of the Śūdra. Even Manu X, 108 approves of this deed of Viśvāmitra. Somadeva in *Kathās*, 27,109 sqq. approves of some Brahmacārins who, in a famine, slaughtered a cow and ate its flesh. In Vaiśeṣikasūtra VI, 1, 12 sqq. it is correspondingly taught that in times of emergency a man of higher standing might even kill a man of lower rank, if he refuses the gift of food which he urgently needs. In *Mbh* XII, 262,6 a pious merchant teaches that it is good not to deceive the customers but, if necessary, then only a little. It is indeed not always possible, not always moral to speak the truth etc. But for the idealistic, religious moralist this problem cannot be solved properly. Kauṭalya begins his work declaring that in such cases where religion contradicts practical necessities, philosophy has to help by arguing with reasons. Such arguing is done by Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*. There he proceeds to prove that Arjuna has to kill even his own relatives. But he avoids this difficult amoral point and teaches instead in a general way about everybody doing his duty according to his caste.

As regards the defence of, and at the same time the attack on despotism in our myth, the main difficulty for the modern historian lies in the problem that despotism was in old times in India and other parts of the world historically necessary for human progress and could not be cursed in a general way. But we do not yet know how despotism in Ancient India developed its ups and downs, how the two ways of defence of and attack on despotism coincided with different stages of despotism in various regions of India, and how the two standpoints as regards Indra are to be ascribed to antagonistic strata of the ancient society. Let us hope that the younger generation will succeed in synchronising social and religious history of Ancient India with more success than we could do up to today.

A concordance of the relevant common verses on the Indra-Vṛtra fight occurring in the different sections of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given in a tabular form on pp. 124-6 as an appendix to this paper.

APPENDIX : ŚLOKAS, COMMON TO MBH. AND RĀM.

Mbh : The Mahābhārata, ed. V. S. Sukthankar, Udyogaparvan ed. S. K. De, Poona 1937 ; the critical apparatus has not been reprinted here.

Rām. : A : The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki (North-Western Recension) ed. Bhagavan Datta, Lahore 1935-47, Ala, Abh. etc. mean the MSS. of A according to this edition.

B : Rāmāyaṇa di Valmici per Gaspare Gorresio, Parigi 1843-67.

C : Rāmāyaṇa *Tilukākhyayā ryākhyayā same tam*, ed. Kasinath Pandurang Parab, Bombay 1888.

D : Rāmayaṇa, a critical edition with the commentary of Sri Govindācārya, Bombay 1911-13.

S : Sāradā MS. of Udyogaparvan, the readings of which are missing in the critical apparatus of De, added later on.

CONCORDANCE :

		Mbh.	Rām. A	B	CD
(1)	**1**	V, 13, 10	VII, 87, 19	VII, 92, 17cd, 18ab	**VII, 85, 18**
	2	11	20	18cd, 19ab	**19**
	3	12	21	19cd, 20**ab**	**20**
	4	13	22	20cd, 21ab	**21**
	5ab	15ab	23**ab**	**21cd**	**22ab**
(2)	**6**	**V, 10,** 42abdf	88, 2	93, 2	86, 2
	7	43abef	3	**3**	**3**
	8	44	4	**4**	**4**
	9	**44ef, 45ab**	5	**5**	**5**
	10b	45c	6b	6b	**6b**
(3)	**11**	**V, 13, 15cdef**	**7**	**7**	**7**
	12	16	9	**9cd, 10ab**	**9**
	13ab	**18cd**	**17cd**	**19ab**	**18cd**

	Mbh. V, 13, 10-15ab	Rām.* AB	Rām. CD
1.	gatiś ca nas tvaṁ deveśa pūrvajo jgataḥ prabhuḥ[1]	tvaṁ gatiḥ paramā deva[2] tvam pūrvo[3] jagataḥ prabhuḥ rakṣārthaṁ sarvabhūtānāṁ viṣṇutvam[4] upa[5]jagmivān	tvaṁ gatiḥ parameśāna pūrvajo jagataḥ pitā.
2.	tvadvīryān[6] nihate Vṛtre Vāsavo brahmahatyayā vṛtaḥ suragaṇaśreṣṭha	hato Vṛtras[7] tvayā deva	hataścāyaṁ tvayā Vṛtro brahmahatyā ca Vāsavam bādhate[8] suraśārdūla mokṣaṁ tasya vinirdiśa.[9]
3.		teṣāṁ tadvacanaṁ śrutvā devānāṁ Viṣṇur abravīt mām eva[10] yajatāṁ Sakraḥ pāvayiṣyāmi Vajriṇam.[11]	
4.		puṇyena hayamedhena māṁ iṣṭvā Pākaśāsanaḥ punar eṣyati devānām indratvam akutobhayaḥ.[12]	
5.	śrutvā Viṣṇoḥ[13] śubhāṁ satyām vāṇīṁ tām[15] amṛtopamām	evam vyādiśya[14] devānām vāṇīṁ tām amṛtopamām	evaṁ saṁdiśatām vāṇīm devānāṁ cāmṛtopamām

(1) jagataḥ sarvataḥ prabho : Ś (2) viśrutaḥ paramo devas : A (3) sarva : Abha 1 (4) Viṣṇus tvam : S (5) iha : A (only Aca : upa) (6) a : Ś (7) aś cāyam : A (only Aca : Vṛtras) (8) vṛṇoti : Aa (9) tasya mokṣam : A ; mokṣaṁ tasyāśu nirdiśa : Aca, bha ; tasyā : D jha, tha (10) na ca mā : S (11) –e Śaktakratum : B ; –e Puraṁdaram : A (only Abha = Mbh.) (12) –am : D (13) vibhoḥ : S (14) uktvā sa : A (15) tāṁ vāṇīm : A = Mbh (only $ŚK_{3,5}Dn_{3-7.10}$ = B).

(2) The world without king :

6.		tato hate mahāvīrye Vṛtre devabhayaṁkare	
	Sakraḥ paramadurmanāḥ sa pūrvaṃ brahmahatyayā		brahmahatyāvṛtaḥ Śakraḥ saṁjñāṁ lebhe tadā na saḥ[1].
7.		So'ntam āśritya[2] lokāṇāṃ naṣṭasaṁjño vicetanaḥ	
	praticchanno vasaty apsu[3] ce[4]ṣṭamāna ivoragaḥ.		kālaṁ tatrāvasat kvacit ce[5]ṣṭamāṇa ivoragaḥ[6].

8. tataḥ praṇaṣṭe[7] devendre[7] atho naṣṭe sahasrākṣe
brahmahatyābhayārditaḥ[8] udvignam abhavaj jagat[9]
bhūmiḥ pradhvastasaṁkāśā[10] niḥsnehā[11] śuṣkakānanā.

9. vichinnasrotaso nadyaḥ niḥsrotasaḥ sravantyaśca[12] niḥsrotasaḥ te sarve tu[13]
sarāṁsy anudakāni ca vipadmāni sarāṁsi ca[14] hradāśca saritas tathā
saṁkṣobhaścāpi sattvānām[15] anāvṛṣṭikṛto 'bhavat.

10. devāścāpi bhṛśaṁ trastā sambhrāntāḥ[16] sarvadevatāḥ sambhrāntamanasaḥ surāḥ

(1) ...na Vṛtrahā : AC ; vopalabhet punah : Abha 1 (2) ālokya : Ś (3) vasaṁś cāpsu : Ś (4) ve : S (5) ve : A (only ca, bha : ce–) (6) hyadhogatiḥ : Abha 1 (7) o : S (8) aḥ : S (9) jagad udvignacetasam : Aca ; (10) bhūśea nisnehasaṅkāśā bhumiścaivābhavat trastā : Abha 2 (11) nivṛttā : Ś ; nisnehā : B ; vidhvastā : A (12) –aś ca saraso : A (13) –aśca te sarve : A (14) hradāścāvimalodakāḥ : A (15) –caive– : B ; saṁkṣayaś caiva bhūtānām : A (16) saṁtrastāḥ : A (only Aca bha 1 = B).

(3) gods and the horse offering :

11. tataḥ sarve suragaṇāḥ sopādhyāyāḥ saharṣibbiḥ[1]
yatra Sakro bhayodvignaḥ taṁ deśaṁ sahitā jagmuḥ[2] taṁ deśam samupājagmuḥ
taṁ deśam upacakramuḥ. yatrendro bhayamohitaḥ.

12. tatrā[3]śvamedhaḥ sumahān Mahendrasya mahātmanaḥ[4]
vavṛte[6] pāvanārthaṁ vai vavṛte brahmahatyāyāhh[5]
brahmahatyāpaho nṛpa. pāvanārthaṁ Śacīpateḥ[7].

13. vijvaraḥ pū[8]tapāpmā ca[9]
Vāsavo, bhavad ātmavān[10] Vāsavaḥ samapadyata[11]

(1) sādhyāścaiva maharṣibhiḥ : A ; sādhyāḥ saha maharṣibhiḥ : Aa, la 2 (2) jagmus taṁ deśam āśritya : A (3) tato' : BCAca, Mbh K_3 (4)...vyavartata Śatakratoḥ : Ā (only Aca, bha 2 = Mbh) (5) vavṛdhe : BD ; vavṛte pāvanārthāya : Abha 1, ca ; pāvanārthaṁ tadā tatra : A (6) vavṛdhe : $G_{2\cdot3}$ (7)...vināśanaḥ : Abha ; brahmahatyā ntśātanaḥ : A ; pāvanārthaṃ nareśvara : CD (8) –o dhū– : A (only Aca : pū-) (9) vijvaraḥ sa ca pūtātmā : D (10) ātmanā : Ś (11)...padam āptavān : A.

26. Some Dharmaśāstra Verses in the Hitopadeśa

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Abbreviations

ĀnSS Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series

Apar See Y

AsBh Asahāyabhāṣya, as quoted in Dh

BhS Bhartṛhari-viracita-Satakatrayādi--subhāṣitasaṅgraha..... by D. D. Kosambi. Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā 23. Bombay 1948

Bṛh Bṛhaspati-Smṛti reconstructed by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. GOS 85. Baroda 1941

C Cāṇakya's aphorisms

ChSS Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series

CKr O. Kressler. Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit. Frankfurt a/M 1904

CM E. Monseur. Cāṇakya. Recension de cinq reculils de stances morales ..Paris 1887

CRB Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra in the recension of Bhoja, as quoted in CKr

CRC Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstram. Ed. by Pt. I. Candra Śāstri, 2nd ed. Calcutta Oriental Series, Vol. 2

CS Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra

CŚF Cāṇakyam. Codice indiano edito del Dre E. Bartoli. Napoli 1911 (MS. from Florence)

CŚH Cāṇakyaśatakam, as published in KSH 312. *Also* ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara 3rd ed. in KSG 2.385. *Also* as published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, 4th ed. Calcutta 1907

CŚN Cāṇakya-nīti-vyavahāra-sāra-saṅgraha. Ed. by G. S. Sardesai. Poona Oriental Ser. 71

CŚW Ueber 100 Sprueche des Cāṇakya. A. Weber. Monatsberichte d. k. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. Berlin 1884

CŚlB Cāṇakya-śloka. MS. B, as quoted in CM p. IV

CV Vṛddha-Cāṇakya

CVB CV; Berlin MS., as quoted in CKr

CVND CV; Cāṇakya-nītidarpaṇaḥ; Bhārgava Pustakālaya. Banaras. *Also* Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇaḥ Master Maṇimalayāḥ 166. Banaras 1946

CVV CV; Various printed editions of CV (Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇa), as quoted in CKr *sub* VB

DBH Dāyabhāgaḥ. Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta

Dh Dharmakośa. Ed. by Lakṣmaṇaśāstri Jośi. Wai 1937-47

DhSP The Parāśara-Dharma-Saṁhitā. Ed. by Vāman Śāstri Islāmapurkar, BSS

GhN Ghaṭakarpara's Nītiśāra. In KSG 1.374

GMBh Gautama-dharmasūtra with Maskari-Bhāṣya. Ed. by L. Śrinivāsāchārya. OLPSS 50. Mysore 1917

GP Garuḍa-purāṇa. Ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara. 1st. ed. Calcutta 1890

HAIS L. Sternbach. The Hitopadeśa and its Sources. Bombay

Hār Hārita's Dharmaśāstra

H Hitopadeśa

HC Hitopadeśa. Ed. by H. T. Colebrooke. Serampore 1804

HH The Hitopadeśa in the Sanskrita Language (A. Hamilton). London 1810

HJ Hitopadeśa. The Sanskrit Text with a Grammatical Analysis Alphabetically Arranged by F. Johnson. 2nd ed. Hartford-London 1864

HK The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa. Ed. with a Sanskrit Commentary and Notes by M. R. Kale. 5th ed. Bombay 1924

HM The First Book of the Hitopadeśa. Skt. text. *Also* second, third and fourth books of Hitopadeśa. Skt. text (both) ed. by M. Mueller. London 1865

HN Nārāyaṇa. Hitopadeśa nach d. nepalischen HS. N neu herausgegeben von H. Blatt. Berlin 1930

HP Hitopadeśa by Nārāyaṇa. Ed. by P. Peterson BSS 33

HS Hitopadeśas, id est Institutio salutaris. Textum codd. mss. collatis...A. G. Schlegel et Ch. Lassen (two volumes). Bonnae ad Rhenum 1831

IS Indische Sprueche. Skt. u. Deutsch herausg. von. O. Boehtlingk. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg 1870-3

JSAIL L. Sternbach. Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law.

See fn. below.[1] (25. The Mānava-Dharmaśāstra Verses in the Hitopadeśa. The St. Schayer Commemoration Volume)

KN Kāmandakīya-nītisāraḥ. Ed. by Rājendralāla Mitra. Bibl. Ind. 4

KSG Kāvya-saṅgrahah pañcasaptatisaṁskrita-kāvyātmakaḥ Ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara. 3rd ed. Calcutta 1888

KSH Kāvya-sangraha. A Sanskrit Anthology. by Dr. J. Haeberlin. Calcutta 1847

KSS Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara berausg. von Dr. H. Brockhaus. Leipzig-Paris 1839 and AKM 2.5 ; 4.5

MBH Śrīmahābhāratam. Ed. by P. Candra Roy. 3rd ed. Calcutta 1886-8

MBH(Bh) The Mahābhārata for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona 1927

Mn Mānava-Dharmaśāstra. Ed. by G. Jhā with the Manubhāṣya of Medhātithi. Bibl. Ind. 256

MP The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. Ed. by Rev. K. M. Banerjea. Bibl. Ind. 29

MRP Madanaratnapradīpa (Vyavahāravivekoddyota). Ed. by P. V. Kane. Ganga Or. Series

MŚ The Śiśupālavadha of Māgha. Ed. by Pt. Durgāprasāda and Pt. Sivadatta. 11th ed. Bombay 1940

N The Institutes of Nārada. Ed. by J. Jolly. Bibl. Ind. 102

NMS Nāradīyamanusaṁhitā. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. TSS 97

NPR The Nārada-Pañca-Rātra. Ed. by K. M. Banerjea. Bibl. Ind. 38.

NV Nītivākyāmṛta by Somadevasūri. Ed. by Pt. Pannālāla Soni. Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā 22

OLPSS Oriental Library Publications. Sanskrit Series. Mysore

P Pañcatantra

PD P of Durgasiṁha by A. Veṅkatasubbiah. *Zeitschrift fuer Indologie und Iranistik* 6.255

[1] The previous papers in the series "Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law" (JSAIL) appeared : Nos. 1,5,10,14,23 in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vols. 24,25,26,29,30,34 ; Nos. 2,4,8,9 in the Poona Orientalist Vols. 8,9,10, 13 ; Nos. 3,6 in The New Indian Antiquary Vols. 6,7 ; Nos. 7,11,12,13,20,21, in The Bhāratīya Vidyā Vols. 6,7,11,12 ; No. 15 in Rocznik Orientalistyczny Vol. 17 ; No 16 in the Sarūpa Bhāratī ; Nos. 7,19, 24 in The Journal of the American Oriental Society Vols. 71,72, 76 ; No. 18 in Siddha Bhāratī I ; No. 22 in the P.K Gode Commemoration Volume ; No. 25 in the St. Schayer Commemoration Volume

PKS J. Hertel, Ueber einige HSs von Kāthasaṁgraha-Strophen, in *ZDMG* 64.62

PN P Nepali text, as quoted in PS and PT

PP P ; A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the Recension, called Pañchākhyānaka. Ed. by J. Hertel. HOS 11-2

PRE P reconstructed. by F. Edgerton. AOS 2-3

PS Das suedliche Pañcatantra. Sanskrittext der Recension *betta* mit den Lesarten der besten HSs. der Recension *alpha*. Herausg. von J Hertel. Abh. d. philol.-hist. Klasse d. k. saechs. Ges. d. Wiss. 24.5 (1906)

PT Ueber das Tantrākhyāyika, die Kaśmirische Rezension des P...von J. Hertel. Abh. d philol -hist. Klasse d. koen. saechs. Ges. d Wiss. 22.5. *Also* Tantrākhyāyika...aus d. Skt. uebersetzt...von J. Hertel I-II. Leipzig und Berlin 1909

PTem The P...in its oldest Recension entitled Tantrākhyāyika by J. Hertel. HOS 14

Pts P (*textus simplicior*). Ed. by F. Kielborn (I) and G. Buehler (II-V). BSS 1, 3, 4

PtsK P (*textus simplicior*). Pantchatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens. Ed. by Io. G. L. Kosegarten. Bonn 1848

PrC Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga, critically edited, Siṅghī Jaina Series 1933

R Rāmāyaṇa. Bombay edition. Reprinted. Bombay (n.d.)

RG Rāmāyaṇa, poema indico di Valmici. Testo sanscrito... della scuola Gaudana per G. Gorresio. Parigi 1843-50

RR Rājanīti-ratnākara by Caṇḍeśvara. Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Patna 1936

SC Smṛticandrikā by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa. Ed. by J. R. Gharpure. Coll. of Hindu Law Texts 11

SCM Smṛticintāmaṇiḥ India Office MSS. Library, as quoted in Dh

ŚP The Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara, a Skt. Anthology. Ed. by P. Peterson. BSS 37

SRBh Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, Ed. by N. R. Kāvyatīrtha. Bombay 1952

ŚŚ Śukranītisāraḥ, śrīmat śukrācāryaviracitaḥ. 2nd ed. Calcutta 1890

SV Sarasvatīvilāsa. ed. by Dr. Shama Shastry. OLPSS 71

TSS Trivandrum Sanskrit Series

VA The Alaṅkāra-kaustubham of Viśveśvara Paṇḍita. Ed. by Pt. Śivadatta. KM 66

VC Vikrama's Adventures. Ed. in four Recensions (VCsr-southern) ...by F. Edgerton HO 26-7

VCa Vivādacandraḥ. Maithil Nibandha Mala. Patna, as quoted in Dh

Vet Die Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa und eines ungenannten mit kritischen Commentar. Herausg. von H. Uhle. AKM 8.1

Vi The Institutes of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-Smṛti)...Ed. by J. Jolly. Bibl. Ind. 9

VR Vivāda-ratnākara. by Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura. Ed. by K. Smṛtitīrtha. Bibl. Ind. 103

VRR Vīramitrodaya by Pt. Mitra Miśra, vol. VI. Rājanīti Prakāśa. ChSS 1916

VRV Vīramitrodaya by Pt. Mitra Miśra, vol. VII. Vyavahāra Prakāśa. ChSS 1932

VS Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī. Ed. by P. Peterson. BSS 31

VT Vivādatāṇḍavam. Lakṣmī Vilāsa Press. Baroda

VV Vivādārṇavasetuḥ. Veṅkateśvara Press. Bombay

VyCi Vyavahāra-Cintāmaṇi, as quoted in Dh

VyK Vyavahārakalpataruḥ. Prājñapāthashālā, Wai, as quoted in Dh

VyMā Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmutavāhana by A Mookerjee, Saraswati. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 3.5

VyN Vyavahāranirṇaya of Varadarāja. Ed. by K. V. Ranga-swami Aiyangar and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Adyar Library, Adyar 1942

VyP Vyavahāraprakāśaḥ. Saraswati Mahal Library. Tanjore, as quoted in Dh

VyS Vyavahārārthasamuccaya. Saraswati Mahal Library. Mysore, as quoted in Dh

VySau Vyavahārasaukhyam. Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, as quoted in Dh

VyT Vyavahāratattavam in Smṛtitattvasya 2. 197. Ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar. Calcutta 1895

Y Yājñavalkya-Smṛti Ed. By L. Ś. Paṇśikar. 4th ed. (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press). Bombay 1936. *Also* The Yājña-valkya Smṛti with Vīramitrodaya...and Mitākṣarā. Ed. by Pt. S. Khiste and Pt. J. Ś. Hosiṅga...ChSS 62. *Also* Aparārkāparābhidhāparādityaviracitaṭīkāsametā (Apar) Yājñavalkyasmṛtiḥ. Ed. by the Paṇḍits of the Ānand-āśrama. AnSS 46

ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft

Introduction

1. In JSAIL 25, where the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra texts in the Hitopadeśa were analyzed, it was contended that the Hitopadeśa is primarily an anthology of maxims and aphorisms, and only to a lesser degree a compendium of stories based on the Pañcatantra in which such aphorisms are interpreted. Nārāyaṇa, the presumable author of the Hitopadeśa, often tried with success to interweave tales with maxims and aphorisms which in his view were in a way connected with these tales. In this way, he tried to compose a *subhāṣita-saṅgraha* containing mostly good counsels for the teaching of the sons of Sudarśana, the king of Pāṭaliputra, for whom the Hitopadeśa was composed as a textbook of *Nīti*[1].

2. Eighteen and a half stanzas of the Hitopadeśa which, directly or indirectly, were drawn upon by Nārāyaṇa from the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, have been analyzed in JSAIL 25. The present paper will now analyze twelve additional stanzas borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from the Dharmaśāstra sources other than the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. These sources are the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*, the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*, the *Nārada-Smṛti* and the *Bṛhaspati-Smṛti*. However, in some cases the stanzas found in the Hitopadeśa were not found in the Dharmaśāstras themselves, but were quoted in some digests only ; they were explained to have originated in some well-known Smṛtis, but they cannot be found in the printed texts of the Dharmaśāstra. They usually contain elements of *dharma* or *nīti* and either form a part of some genuine but unknown MSS of the respective Dharmaśāstras or Smṛtis mentioned in the digests, or are more or less known stanzas whose origin, for reason of prestige, was attributed by the authors of the digests to some celebrated Dharmaśāstra or Smṛti[2].

3. Nārāyaṇa's main source for the Hitopadeśa was notably the Pañcatantra[3]. As was shown in JSAIL[4] 25, Nārāyaṇa was poorly versed in Sanskrit Dharma literature and his legal training was meagre. His knowledge of the Dharmasāstra was limited ; for his quotations in the Hitopadeśa drawn from this source, he often had to rely merely on his memory, as was the case with many of his contemporaries. He may have even not been fully aware that when he did so, he was quoting from the Dharma-

1. Cf. JSAIL 25, par. 1 and HAIS par. 48-9.
2. Cf. below paras 24 and 29.
3. Cf. HAIS, part II and Tables I-II.
4. Cf. JSAIL 25, par 4.

sāstra sources[1]. It is difficult to resist the suspicion that he never got thoroughly acquainted with such well known Dharmasāstra sources as the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*, the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, and the *Nārada Smṛti* which he quoted.

4. In his compendium, Nārāyaṇa followed the traditional postulate by which each of the tales told in a compendium like the Hitopadeśa, was to be accompanied by an adage or a legal precept of a general or specific nature tending to convey a moral principle. Yet, Nārāyaṇa's imperfect knowledge of the Dharmaśāstra necessarily affected his ability to select from it the proper stanzas containing pertinent precepts and, to a no lesser degree, influenced his method to apply the selected precepts appropriately[2]. Where more general legal precepts would have been suitable, he cited stanzas that contained specific or exceptional regulations but less pertinent. Since relevant precepts of general nature were available and plentiful, their omission must be obviously attributed to Nārāyaṇa's ignorance of the Dharmaśāstra texts.

In other instances Nārāyaṇa quoted in the Hitopadeśa stanzas which were obviously singled out from among a group of legal regulations related to the same subject. Had he consulted the original text rather than his memory, he would have included the remaining stanzas or at least a part thereof[3]. This is particularly true for the quotation of stanza Y 3.9 and the simultaneous omission of stanza Y 3.8 which is almost a variant of HJ 4.74[4].

This weakness of Narāyaṇa is also reflected in the usage of sources other than the Dharmaśāstra and the Smṛtis which he undoubtedly knew[5] and which in specific cases were closely related to the subject matter of his particular tales[6]. Such somewhat casual treatment of sources militated against the objective which Nārāyaṇa had set for himself, i. e. to turn the Hitopadeśa into a perfect *subhāṣita-saṅgraha*. The failure to achieve this object in respect of all but one chapter is demonstrated below[7].

Yet there is still another feature characteristic of Nārāyaṇa's treatment of his Hitopadeśa resulting from his zeal to achieve as complete a *subhāṣita-saṅgraha* as possible. He sometimes overburdened his work with citations from the Dharmaśāstra, which fitted only loosely or not at all with Hitopadeśa's specific tales. The reason of the occasional zeal manifested by these unduly lavish

1. Cf. below paras 7, 11 and 14.
2. Cf. below para 11.
3. Cf. below para 9 and 23.
4. Cf. below para 21.
5. E.g. in the case of P or MBh. See below par. 11.
6. Cf. below para 7, 9, 11, 18, 21 and 23.
7. In connection with tale III. 8.

quotations can be also explained by the great authority enjoyed by the Dharmaśāstra literature, and equally by the significance of the quoted precepts to those who were to learn from them.[1]

5. Notwithstanding these inadequacies in the application of quotations, passages are frequently found from the Dharmaśāstra and the Smṛtis which are both well suited and well considered.[2] It is therefore not a rare occurrence that a tale is accompanied by a quotation properly selected and based on good judgment; such quotations produce an excellently worded and homogeneous precept.[3]

II. Analysis of Texts

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE HITOPADEŚA

6. In the Introduction to the Hitopadeśa we find the following stanza :—

[4]कोऽर्थः पुत्रेण जातेन[5] यो न विद्वान् न धार्मिकः[6] ।
[7]काणेन चक्षुषा किं वा चक्षुः पीडैव केवलम्[8] ॥

"What is the benefit from a son born, who has neither knowledge nor virtue; or what is the benefit from a sightless eye; [such an] eye is simply an annoyance."

This stanza is found in the Hitopadeśa (HJ Intr. 12; HS Intr. 12; HM Intr. 12; HP Intr. 12; HN Intr. 11; HK Intr. 12; HK 2.14-5; HC 4.14-5) and Bṛh (26.36[9] also quoted in DBh. 101; VRV 561.3; VyN 419; SC 271.12; VR 1383; MRP 357·1-2; VyK 144; VT 433; VyS 131; Vyavahāramādhava 305). It is further found in Cāṇakya's compendia (CVND 4.9; CVV 4.8; CV in IS (1748) 4.9(8); CRC 7.68); in the Kathā literature (PS

1. Cf below paras 13 and 15.
2. Cf. below para 21 and 23.
3. Cf. below para 22.
4. In Bṛh, DBh, MRP, SC, VR VRV, VT, VyK, VyN, VyS, C, PP. Pts, VS *ab* are *cd*. Cf. fn. 18.
5. तेन तु पुत्रेण VR, VyN, DBh ; वा तेन VS.
6. विद्वानधार्मिकः B in PS. भक्तिमान् PP, Pts, CVND ; शक्तिमान् M in PP.
7. तया गवा किं क्रियते (ध्रियते E in PS) या न दोग्ध्री (धेनुर् DBh, MRP, VR, VRV, VT, VyN, VyS) न (च VyN) गर्भिणी Bṛh, DBh, MRP, VR, VRV, VT VyN, VyS, PS, PRE, CRC, VS ; किं तया क्रियते धेन्वा या न सूते न दुग्धदा (न दोग्ध्री न गर्भिणी CVND) PP, Pts, CVND, NV.
8. यत् फलं HN, N in HP.
9. Cf. Bṛh 26. 37.

Intr. 4 ; PN Intr. 3 ; PP Intr. 3, Pts. Intr. 4 ; PRE Intr. 3 ; VCsr 21.2) and in NV (27.16, ascribed wrongly to Vallabhadeva).[1]

Only *pādas ab* are identical in H and in other sources, while *cd* are different[2], but the main thought of all these stanzas is identical. Technically the stanza found in H forms an aphorism different from that quoted in the other sources.[3]

The main editions of the Hitopadeśa are identical with the exception of HN which contains one small variant in *d* ; *cd* of H are different in other sources ; they contain some variants.

7. In the Hitopadeśa this stanza forms a part of the "Introduction". The Introduction explains why the Hitopadeśa was composed ; the purpose was to teach the king's sons about the books of Artha—the Nītiśāstra[4] and other learned writings. Consequently, it was necessary for Nārāyaṇa to preface this thought by stanzas saying that an unlearned and unwise son brings only unhappiness to his father, while one who is learned and wise brings true happiness to the family. HJ contains seven stanzas on this subject.[5] The first of these stanzas is that quoted above and was borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from the Pañcatantra. Nārāyaṇa probably did not even know that the stanza quoted from P is the same as that found in Brh or C. Had he known Brh, he would have certainly quoted the next stanza (Brh 26.37) which also deals with the same subject and is closely connected with the preceding stanza.

Nārāyaṇa did not show in this case his great acquaintance with the Sanskrit literature, as he did not quote the numerous stanzas dealing with the same subject ; e g. PP[6] Intr. 2, Intr. 3, 3.23 ; Pts.[6] Intr. 3, Intr. 6, 4.6-9 ; CVV[6] 6.11 ; CVB 17 (IS 5381) ; VCsr[6] 21.3, 21.4 ; these and several other stanzas, if quoted, would have certainly enlarged Nārāyaṇa's *subhāṣita-saṅgraha* on the subject However, Nārāyaṇa adhered again to his master-work, the Pañcatantra and did not try to collect similar aphorisms on the subject, though he collected seven stanzas, some unknown to P.[7]

1. This stanza is also quoted in IS (Nos. 1940 and 1748 ; see fn. 3 below and VS 2727.

2. In those sources (quoted above) *ab* forms the second part of the stanza, while the rest is different.

3. In IS the H stanza is quoted as No. 1940 , while the other sources as No. 1748.

4. HJ Intr.

5. HJ Intr. 12-8.

6. And other editions.

7. HJ Intr.3 identical with VCsr (21.3); Intr. 14 identical with CRC (8.36), CRB (8.35) and BhS (74) ; Intr. 16 identical with MBh (5.132, 23b-24a) and CRC (8.36) ; Intr. 17 identical with CVV (4.5) and other editions of C.

8. In the Introduction we find also a second stanza borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from the Dharmaśāstra reading :

यथा ह्येकेन चक्रेण न रथस्य[1] गतिर्भवेत् ।
एवं[2] [3]पुरुषकारेण विना दैवं न सिध्यति ॥

"As indeed there cannot be any motion of a chariot by one wheel, so without human effort, destiny cannot be fulfilled.

This stanza is found in the Hitopadeśa (HJ Intr. 32 ; HS Intr. 31 ; HM Intr. 32; HP Intr. 20 ; HN Intr. 19; HK Intr. 32; HH 4.8-9 ; HC 6.8-9) and Y. (1.350 in Stanzler's edition ; 1.351 in ChSS and in Nirṇaya Sāgar edition ; 1.349 in AnSS edition ; 1.347 in TSS edition).[4]

The main editions of H are identical with the exception of the HN edition, which contains one small error. The main editions of Y are identical. The text of H is identical with that of Y with the exception of one small variant.[5]

9. The H stanza is one of the eight stanzas[6] quoted by Nārāyaṇa in the Introduction in order to explain that to gain knowledge and to achieve anything a person has to make an effort, because effort is superior to fate and adverse fate can be overcome by effort.

Most of the stanzas dealing with this subject were borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from P,[7] some from C[8] and some from the MBh, etc.[9] These stanzas, however, were borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from P, but they were not borrowed consistently. This seems to be evident from the fact that P deals with the same subject not in the Introduction but in book 2 (Pts. tale 5)[10] and contains several

1. न र° tr. Y (ChSS ed. as above with a note that in some MSS. न and रथस्य are transposed).

2. तथा B in HP.

3. पुरुस HN (printing error).

4. This stanza is also quoted in SRBh (82.7) where it is ascribed to Y and in IS (5161).

5. However the ChSS edition is identical with that of H.

6. HJ Intr. 30—8.

7. HJ Intr. 30 from Pt (2.83), PP (2.145) and Pts (2.140) ; HJ Intr. 31 from Pts (2.130 and 1.361) also found in Vet (Intr. 6), GhN (13) and NV (29. 6) ; HJ Intr. 36 from Pts (2.131) and PP (2.139) also found in ŚŚ (4.7,293) and NV (29.9).

8. HJ Intr. 38 from CVND (2.11) and others in the CV group, CŚ group (CŚH 9, CŚW 17, CŚN 72), CR group (CRC 7.66) and CŚ 1 group (CŚ1B 181).

9. HJ Intr. 34 from MBh (13.1,74) and Padma Purāṇa Bhūmikhaṇḍa (81.42 ; first *pādas* only).

10. See also Pts (5.29 and other editions ; also quoted in VC), Pts (1.360 ; 2.126 and other editions).

stanzas on the subject. Nārāyaṇa picked out only some of these stanzas. He did not include in his Hitopadeśa the Y stanzas on the subject, in spite of the fact that the preceding two stanzas (Y 1.348-9) deal also with human effort. Furthermore, he did not take into consideration the most classical stanzas on the subject found e.g. in Mn. (7. 205 identical with Y. 1. 348); MBH (3. 32, 14-5; 5. 192, 15; 10. 2, 3; 10. 2, 10; 12. 24, 22; 12. 139, 81; 13. 6, 7, 8, 23, 43-44, 47 etc) RG (5. 33. 30b-31a; 6. 37, 12 and VRR 314), MP (23. 26), Agni Purāṇa (in Śabdakalpadruma *sub* पौरुष), KN (6. 41[1]; 9. 36[2]; 11. 29; 13. 10-1; 13. 21), Viṣṇudharmottara (in VRR 313), Vyāsa (in VRR 315) Yogayātrā (1. 3[3]) and many others which would have certainly suited well in this part of the Introduction.

It seems to be clear that Nārāyaṇa used, as before, his memory and inserted only such stanzas on the subject as came to his mind. He did not take the trouble to consult the orignal source; had he done so, he would have quoted at least the two preceding stanzas of Y[4] He also probably forgot about the existence of the stanzas from MBh and other sources quoted above.

2. STORY OF THE BLIND VULTURE, THE CAT AND THE BIRDS, I. 4 (A)

10. In the story I. 4 (a) we find the following stanza:

अतिथिर्यस्य[5] भग्नाशो गृहात्[6] प्रतिनिवर्तते[7] ।
[8]स तस्मै[9] दुष्कृतं[10] दत्वा पुण्यमादाय [11]गच्छति ॥

"*A guest who departs from a house, disappointed in his*

1. Also quoted in P (PP 1.190, Pts (1.223, 348) and others.
2. Also quoted in HJ 4.47.
3. In A. Weber's Indische Streifen (10.164).
4. Y (1-348-9) Stenzler' edition.
5. °यास्य K_4 in MBh (Bh).
6. गृहं M_1 in MBh (Bh).
7. प्रतिनिववर्तते HK (printing error ?); निवर्तते K_1 in MBh (Bh),
8. सा K_1 in MBh (Bh); तस्मात् सुकृतमादाय दुष्कृतं तु प्रयच्छति vi; ....न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति (पितरस्तस्य नाऽश्नन्ति Smṛtimuktāphala; पितरस्तस्य देवाश्च पुण्यं धर्मव्रताशनाः NPR) दशवर्षाणि पञ्च च NPR, Smṛtimuktāphala, Gṛhastha-Ratnākara.
9. दत्त्वा and तस्मै tr. MBh (Bh) T_2 in MBh (Bh) as above), MP, PD; दत्त्वा स K_7 $D_{5,6,9}$ in MBh (Bh); स तस्य $D_7TG_{1,2,3,6}M_5$ in MBh (Bh); तस्य B_3 in MBh (Bh), PD; तस्यै M_1 in MBh (Bh).
10. किल्बिषं P in HS.
11. आदाति G_2 in MBh (Bh).

expectations, leaves [*the householder*] *with* [*his own*] *sins,* [*while*] *taking away from him* [*the latter's*] *virtues.*"

This stanza is found in HJ (HJ 1.64 ; HS 1.56 ; HM 1.61 ; HK 1.63 ; HH 16.5-6 ; HC 22.1-2)[1] and Vi (67.33 *ab*). It is also found in MBh (Bh) 12.184, 12 ; MP 29.31b-32a ; NPR 1.6, 43 (*ab* PD 305.85. It is further quoted in *Gṛhastha Ratnākara* (302.4 *ab*), where it is ascribed to Parāśara, as well as in *Smṛtimuktāphala* 416.4 (*ab*) and in *Śabdakalpadruma* आह्निकतत्त्व *Sub* भमाश.[2]

The main editions of H are identical. *Pādas a* and *b* in H are also identical with Vi and other digests, as well as with NPR ; *Pādas c* and *d* are different. Both parts of this stanza are however identical with H on one side, and MBh, MP and PD on the other.[3] Technically, therefore this stanza as found in H, MBh, MP and PD is different from that found in Vi, the digests quoted above, and NPR. However, the thought in both groups of stanzas is the same. The same thought is also found in MBh 13, 2, 93 ; RG 3. 18, 35 and PP 3. 137 (PtsK 3. 159). Although the thought is the same in Vi and NPR on one side and MBh, MP and PD on the other, it must be assumed that Nārāyaṇa borrowed stanza HJ 1. 64 from MBh (or PD, or MP) and not from Vi, since the text in Vi *cd* is different from that found in H.

11. In H this stanza is quoted among six others dealing with hospitality and guests (HJ 1. 60 to 65). One of the preceding stanzas, viz. HJ 1. 61, was borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from Mn[4], others from MBh (HJ 1. 60), Cāṇakya's compendia (HJ 1. 63, 1. 65) or Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (HJ 1. 62). As was explained in JSAIL 25[5] Nārāyaṇa's choice of stanzas concerning hospitality was not too happy, for he selected rather exceptional Dharmaśāstra rules, but did not quote the more general ones, such as Mn 3. 89 or Y 1 107,[6]

When analyzing stanza HJ 1. 64 one comes to the same conclusion. It is rather incomprehensible why Nārāyaṇa did not quote next to HJ 1. 64 the very similar stanzas PP 3. 137 (PtsK 3. 159), MBh 13. 2, 93 and RG 3. 18, 35 which he must have known. He did not quote there the other stanzas dealing with hospitality found in Vi (67. 34 and following), Mn (3. 102 and following), P (PP 1. 130 ; 2. 49 ; 3. 147 ; 4. 5[7]) or Cāṇakya's compendia (CVND 15. 11[7]) etc.

1. This stanza is not found in HP and HN.
2. This stanza is also quoted in IS (1 34).
3. With few minor variants.
4. Mn (Jhā edition) 3.91. Cf. JSAIL 25, par. 11-3.
5. Paragraphs 12-3.
6. Cf *P.V. Kane's* History of Dharmaśāstra 2.2,752.
7. Also found in other editions and other works.

3. STORY OF THE BLUE JACKAL III. 8

12. The story of "The Blue Jackal" III.8 contains the following well-known stanza :

न[1] सा[2] सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा[3]
वृद्धा[4] न ते ये न वदन्ति[5] धर्मम्[6] ।
धर्मः[7] स नो यत्र न[8] [9]सत्यमस्ति[10]
सत्यं[11] न तद्[12] [13]यद् भयमभ्युपैति[14] ॥

"*That is not a council where there are no elders ; they are not elders who do not apply* dharma *justly* ; *that is not* dharma *where there is no truth* ; *that is not truth when it is associated with fear.*"

This stanza is quoted in H (HJ 3.64 ; HS 3.61 ; HM 3.61 ; HP 3.59 ; HN 3.59 ; HK 3.61 ; HH 84.16-7[15] and in N (3.18 ; also quoted NMS 1.80 ; MBH 220.1-2, ascribed to N ; DhSP 3.1 ; 35.13, ascribed to MBH ; SC 23.24-5, ascribed to N ; Apar *ad* Y 2.4, ascribed wrongly to Vyāsa ; SV 70 ; VyP 13 ; VYS 9 ; VyK 15 ; VyN 20 ; VySa 11 ; AsBh 31). It is also found in

1. स CRC (wrongly).
2. नासौ Apar.
3. पृद्धाः HL, GP, DhSP, SC, SV, VyK, VyN, VyP, VyS, VySau, AsBh.
4. न ते वृ° (tr.) MBh (Bh) (K_4, D_5, $D_{3, 4}$ in MBh (Bh) as above) NMS, SC, SV.
5. विदंति B_4, D_7 in MBh (Bh), ये प्रवदन्त्य Pp in HS.
6. धर्मान् Pp in HS, K_2 in MBh (Bh).
7. धर्मो न वै यत्र च नास्ति SRBh; नासौ धर्मो यं MBh (Bh), R, N, NMS, GMBh, DhSP, Apar. SC, SV, VyN, VyP, VyS, VySau, AsBh, ŚP ; नास्ते स धर्मो न हि यत्र सत्यं स° VA.
8. नो N, GMBh, Apar (var.), SC, VyN, VySau, AsBh.
9. चास्ति सत्यं स° BhŚ, PrC (BP in PrC as above).
10. नैवास्ति सत्यं IS ; न चास्ति सत्यं BhŚ, ŚP.
11. न तत् (नैत Apar (var.) ; नैतत् GP ;) सत्यं (स° न तत् D_5 in MBh (Bh) यच्छलेनानुविद्धम्) R, NMS, GMBh, SC, PsDh, SRBh ; छलेनाभ्युपेतम् IS ; कपटेना B in DhSP) MBH (Bh), R, GP, N, NMS, GMBh, DhSP, Apar, SC, SV, VyN, VyP, VyS, VySau, AsBh, ŚP ; नो सत्यं यच्छलेनानुविद्धम् IS (cf. fn. 13).
12. नैतत् G_4 in MBh (Bh).
13. यच्छलम् HS (L in HS as above), HM, HK (IP in HK as above), AB in HP, VyK ; यच्छमम् HP, HN . यच्छलदोषयुक्तं CRC : यच्छलनानुविद्धम् R, NMS, GMBh, DhSP, SC, SRBh ; यच्छलेनाभ्युपेतं Mbh ; यत्कपटानु (कृतकानु PrC) विद्धम् BhR ; यत्कपटेन विद्धम् B in DhSP, VA (cf. fn. 11 above).
14. अनुविद्धम् IS ; अभ्युपेतं N in MBh (Bh).
15. This stanza is not found in HC.

MBh 5.34,59 (MBh(Bh) 5.35,49); R 7.59 (3) 33; GP (1.115,52); Cāṇakya's compendia (CRC 8.54; CRB 8.57); BhS 568; PrC 2.129 and VA 385.6-7 (cf. KSS 14.106, 168)[1].

The *pāda d* in the HJ edition is different from all other editions; otherwise only one variant is noted in HH. There are some variants between H and other sources. The HS, HM, HP, HN, HK and HH editions are nearest to MBh[2] and GP.

13. Nārāyaṇa included this stanza immediately after the story of the blue jackal, which "met the fate of one who leaves his proper party." Then in H the king called his Court and invited the Crow, the Parrot and others. During the ensuing session numerous stanzas were uttered; we do not find them, however, in P as the continuation of the blue jackal story.[3] Very few of these stanzas were borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from P[4]. Most of them, which deal with *nīti*, were borrowed from KN[5] (3.68 to 70; 72 to 77; 79; 80; 82; 86; 94 to 97) and other *nīti* sources. Nārāyaṇa, having constantly in mind his objective of turning the Hitopadeśa into as complete a *subhāṣita-saṅgraha* as possible, inserted the stanza in question, which is a well-known *nīti* aphorism. This, however, was unnecessary, as the thought in this stanza is very remote from the tale itself, the latter dealing mostly with war. Nārāyaṇa must himself have noticed the unsuitability of the stanza and included it at the beginning of the tale before the other *nīti* stanzas.

14. Nārāyaṇa borrowed this stanza probably from MBh or GP and not from N, though it is also found in this Smṛti. This can be evidenced by the wording of MBh [but not MBh (Bh)], which is the nearest to the text of all the editions of H, with the exception of the HJ edition; the editor of HJ chose a wrong wording not found in any other primary sources. The differences between MBh, GP and H[7], and all the other sources are not significant, but since MBh and MBh (Bh) respectively contain both versions, it is evident that both versions were current and Nārāyaṇa chose one of them subjecting it to slight changes.

15. Despite the fact that this stanza is not connected with the story itself, it matters little, since it is a well known stanza and

1. This stanza is also quoted in ŚP (1344), SRBh (174. 884) where it it ascribed to GP and in IS (3483).

2. But not MBh (Bh).

3. Some of these stanzas are found in the last part of book II of HJ.

4. We find only HJ 3. 67 and 3. 69 in PKS and PP (Pts) respectively.

5. Nārāyaṇa changed often the wording of KN.

6. C, ŚS, MŚ. Cf. HAIS, Table VI.

7. With the exception of HJ.

of pedagogical value to young princes for whom, after all, the Hitopadeśa was written.

4. STORY OF THE OLD SERPENT AND THE FROGS, IV. 12

16. According to the story of the "Old Serpent and the Frogs", an old serpent no longer able to obtain his own food was interrogated by a certain frog why he had given up caring for food. He replied that some twenty years ago he bit a son of a holy Brāhmaṇa, of which the youngster died. The Brāhmaṇa cursed the serpent with the curse that he should be a carrier of frogs and have nothing to eat. The frog-king who was told about the story and was sorry for the old serpent asked him to eat a few of his subject-frogs. The old serpent waited only for that, began to eat the frogs until the pond became clear and finished with the frog-king himself.

17. Nārāyaṇa interpolated in this story nearly 30 stanzas spoken by the Brāhmaṇa, which relate to life and mortality. Among these stanzas some texts of H contain three stanzas taken from Dharmaśāstra sources, viz. Vi and Y. The first two of these stanzas are not quoted in any of the printed editions of H. They were found in a Hitopadeśa MS described by Theodor Zachariae in his article in ZDMG entitled *Bericht ueber eine Handschrift des Hitopadeśa.*[1]

The date of this MS is not given, but Th. Zachariae did not consider it old. He felt that it was the nearest to the HH edition, but that it contained a number of interpolated *ślokas*, some of which were not found in any printed editions and were not even mentioned in any of them. To this kind of *ślokas* belong the three which are quoted between HJ 4.77 and 4.78, two of which viz. the first and third, are also found in the Smṛtis.

18. The first of these *ślokas* reads :

देहिनोऽस्मिन् यथा देहे कौमारं यौवनं जरा।
तथा देहान्तरप्राप्तिर्धीरस्तत्र[2] न मुह्यति ॥

"As an embodied person (soul) undergoes childhood, youth and old age, so also he will obtain another body : the wise man is not worried about it."

This stanza is found in Vi 20.49 and MBh (Bh) 6. 24. 13 (Bhagavatgītā 2.13).

1. ZDMG 61. 342-55
2. वीरस् K_1, Dar, D_3 in MBh (Bh

The second of the *ślokas* is connected with HJ 1.77 and the third of them reads :

आक्रम्य सर्वः कालेन परलोकं च नीयते ।
कर्मपाशवशो जन्तुस्तत्र का परिदेवना ॥

"Every living being is seized upon by Kāla death and brought into another world ; a living being is the slave of its actions. Why then should you wail (on its death) ?"

19. This stanza is found in Vi 20. 28. Vi in its twentieth chapter contains numerous stanzas[1] dealing with life and mortality and many of the stanzas quoted there could have been profitably included in the story of the old serpent and the frogs ; nevertheless the two stanzas included in the MS described by Th. Zachariae are in the right place and well-chosen.

20. The third stanza borrowed from the Dharmaśāstra and included in the story of the old serpent and the frogs is found in only one edition of H, viz. in HS (4. 71).[2] It reads :

संसारे[3] कदलीस्तम्भे निःसारे[4] सारमार्गणम् ।
यः करोति[5] स संमूढो[6] जलबुद्बुदसन्निभे ॥

"Who in [this] human world, which is unsubstantial and sapless like a plantain tree and resembles a water bubble, attempts to seek the supreme reality is a foolish person."

This stanza is also found in Y (3. 8 ; and is quoted in Smṛtimuktāphala 604. 12 and in Śabdakalpadruma *sub* निःसार, मानुष्य and संमूढ[7].

The text of H is not completely identical with that of Y. In *pāda a* H has संसारे while Y has मानुष्ये ; however this one major variant and the two or three[8] minor ones do not change the thought of the aphorism.

1. Vi 20. 22 to 53.
2. In HJ it would have been inserted between 4. 76 and 4. 77.
3. मानुष्ये Y, Smṛtimuktāphala ; स्तम्ब and स्तम्भे Śabdakalpadruma ; मनुषी° Y *(*ĀnSS ed.*) (*var.*)*.
4. कदलीस्तम्बे Y *(*k, kh, pu in ChSS ed. as above) ; °स्तम्ब° k, ṅ in TSS ed.
5. यः क° tr. Y *(*Nirṇaya Sāgara Press ed., ĀnSS ed.*)*, Smṛtimuktāphala ; केराति IS printing error.
6. स मूढो वै Smṛtimuktāphala ; संपूर्णो Y *(*ĀnSS ed.*) (var.)*
7. This stanza is also quoted in IS *(*4823*)*
8. In some editions of Y there are three variants.

21. The Y 3. 8 stanza, well chosen by Nārāyaṇa from Y, and inserted in the right place, is followed in Y by Y 3. 9 which is very similar to the thought expressed in stanza HJ 4. 74.[1]

In order to create a better Subhāṣita-saṅgraha the Y (3. 9) stanza should have been inserted by Nārāyaṇa among those quoted between HJ 4. 74 and 4. 84. It is even possible that he did so, since in HS the Y stanza (Y 3. 9) is quoted[2] after HS 4. 71 (found only in the HS edition and quoted as codd.), but could have been preferably quoted after HS 4. 68 (HJ 4. 74).

It is, however, more likely that a scribe and not Nārāyaṇa added this stanza in codd , since only in this one MS the stanza is quoted. The scribe probably inserted the stanza, which followed in Y the stanza quoted before, as he knew the text of Y which Nārāyaṇa apparently did not.

5. LAST FRAME-STORY IN H

22. Nārāyaṇa, coming to a close of his Hitopadeśa, quotes the following stanza :

अश्वमेधसहस्रं[3] च[4] सत्यं च तुलया धृतम्[5] ।
[6]अश्वमेधसहस्राद्धि[7] [8]सत्यमेवाऽतिरिच्यते[9] ॥

"If truth and a thousand horse-sacrifices [were] weighed in a balance against each other, truth would certainly outweigh a thousand horse-sacrifices."

1. पञ्चभिर्निर्मिते देहे पञ्चत्वं च पुनर्गते ।
स्वां स्वां योनिमनुप्राप्ते तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ (HJ 4. 74).
पञ्चधा संभृतः कायो यदि पञ्चत्वमागतः ।
कर्मभिः स्वशरीरोत्थैस्तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ (Y 3. 9).

2. Codd. quoted in HS.

3. सहस्राणि (च om.) HL, HM, HK, HP, HN, सहस्राणि च सहस्रं च IS.

4. तु Vi (in Dh), VyK, VyM, VyT, AsBh.

5. घृतं HL (printiug error ?) ; कृतम् HM,

6. तुलयित्वा तु पश्यामि स° R ; नाभिजानामि यद्यस्य सत्यस्यार्धमवाप्नुयात् MBh (13. 22, 14) ; अत्यरिच्यत सत्यं च इति वेदविदो विदुः Urdh.

7. °स्रानि VV ; °स्रात्तु N, NMS, VCa, VyK, VySau, AsBh ; °स्रादि SRBh ; °स्रस्य HP, HN.

8. मत्यं S in HS.

9. एव विशिष्यते MBh (Bh) (1. 69, 22) (Ñ, in MBh (Bh) as above), MBh (12. 162, 26 ; 13. 75, 31), Vi, SS, VyK, VyMa ; एव विशेष्यते NMS (var.) ; एवाविशिष्यते VyCi·

This stanza is quoted in H (HJ 4. 135; HS 4. 129; HM 4. 131; HP 4. 136; HN 4. 136; HK 4. 138; HH 118. 26-7; HC 160. 3-4) and in Vi (8. 36) and N (4. 211; NMS 1. 189); it is also quoted in SC 47; SS 121; VCa 147; VV 122; VyCi 48, 56; VyK 52; VyMā 331; VyT 215; VsSau 50; AsBh 71). It is also found in MBh (MBh (Bh) 1. 69, 22; MBh 12. 162, 26; 13. 75, 31 and similarly MBh 13. 22, 14), R (2. 61, 10 *ab*), MP (8. 42) and in P (PTcm Annex 4. 20).[1]

Most of the editions of H contain one minor variant in *pāda a*. HM contains also one variant in *pāda b* and HP and HN in *pāda c*. In addition, HH contains one printing error in *pāda b*. HJ, HS and HC seem to be nearest to the original.

The texts of Vi, N, digests, MBh, MP and PTcm contain minor variants only. R, MBh (13. 22, 14) and Ūrdhvāmnāyas are identical with the other souices in *pādas ab*, while *pādas cd* are different in each case.

The Hitopadeśa on the one side, and other sources on the other, are respectively identical only with the exception of one important variant in *d* (minor variants are noted in *a* and *c*), but some texts, as for instance Ñ in MBh (Bh) (1. 69, 22) as well as VyT and SCM (quoting Vi or N), have the same wording as H. The wording used in H is somewhat better than that used in other sources, since अतिरिच्यते conveys a better meaning in this aphorism than विशिष्यते.

23. Nārāyaṇa has included at the end of his Hitopadeśa a very well-suited stanza concerning truth. Stanzas on this subject were included in the Smṛtis in the chapters on witnesses. In Vi the stanza in question is the only one which conveys a general meaning, but in N the stanza is among several others dealing with truth (N 4.210 to 216[2]), which should have been preferably included in the Hitopadeśa.

It would be improper to conclude from this that Nārāyaṇa borrowed this stanza from Vi and not from N, for if he had known N he would have also quoted the preceding and following stanzas dealing with the same subject. It is more likely that he did not know the source of this stanza but knew it by heart only, and included it at the end of his work. If he had known the Sanskrit literature better, he would have certainly included such stanzas as MBh. (1.74, 101; 1.74, 104; 5.32, 51; 12.162, 24; 12.276, 24; 12.329, 12), R (2.109, 11 to 14; 2 118, 12; RG 2.61, 13 to 17),

1. Also similarly Ūrdhvāmnāyas. (1. 19 in IS 730); it is also quoted in SRBh (83. 2), wrongly ascribed to Mn, and in IS (731).

2. The stanza quoted here is found in N (4. 211).

KN (4.24), CV (5.19, 18), Brāhmadharma (2.6,9)[1], etc. which reflect the same thought as that intended by Nārāyaṇa; they all praise truth.

6. OTHER STANZAS

24. In the Hitopadeśa we find also five stanzas which according to some digests are also found in the Smṛtis, but cannot be traced in these sources.

25. The first of these stanzas is found in the story I 1 (a) of "The Crow, the Tortoise, the Deer and the Mouse"; it reads :

उत्थायोत्थाय बोद्धव्यं[2] महद्भयमुपस्थितम् ।
मरणव्याधिशोकानां[3] किमद्य निपतिष्यति ॥

"*Having arisen one should consider [each day that] a great danger [may be] approaching : death, illness, pain may befall today*".

This stanza is quoted in H (HJ 1.3 : HS 1.3 ; HM 1.3 ; HN 1.3 : HK 1.4 ; HH 7.2-3 ; HC 9.11-2) and according to Smṛtimuktāphala (210,17) and DhSP (1. 1 ; 220.16-7) is attributed to Vi.[4]

This stanza is identical in all H editions ; it is also identical with that quoted in Smṛtimuktāphala and DhSP. It is not typical for the Smṛtis.

26. The second and the third stanzas are found in the story II. 3 (b) of "The Jackal and the Crow" ; it reads :

[5]अल्पेच्छुर्धृतिमान् प्राज्ञश् छायेवानुगतः सदा ।
[6]आदिष्टो न विकल्पेत[7] स राजवसतिं[8] वसेत् ॥

"*[He] who [is] moderate in his wishes, steady, wise, at all times following like a shadow and not hesitating when ordered (to do what he was ordered), may reside in the king's palace.*"

1. And N (4. 210, 212 to 216). See above.
2. यद्भयं समुप° DhSP.
3. शोकानि Up in HS
4. The stanza is also quoted in SRBh (162. 432), but is wrongly ascribed to ŚP, and in IS (1205).
5. अल्पेषु HL (wrongly); अल्पेच्छो BN in HP, RR ; अल्पेच्छः RR (notes); अल्पेक्षः RR (notes).
6. आदिष्टोस्मि न विकल्पेत् HN ; आदितोस्मि न विकल्पेत् N in HP.
7. विकल्पेद्यः RR.
8. राजवसतौ S in Hs, HM, HK

This stanza is quoted in H (HJ 2.53, HS 2.53, HM 2.56, HP 2.49, HN 2.48, HK 2 46, HH 48.5-6, HC 63.20-1) and according to RR (12.9-10) is attributed to N and Hār.[1] *Pādas* ab are also found with variants in MBh (Bh) 4.4, 37 ; *pādas ab* and *cd* in MBh (Bh) 4.4, 39 *cd*.

The various texts of H contain some minor variants in *pādas acd*, one of which is also found in RR. The text found in RR is almost identical with that of H with the exception of one minor variant in *c*. This stanza is a typical *nīti* stanza which defines the attributes of a good king's attendant.[2]

The other stanza in the same story reads :

दूरादवेक्षणं हासः संप्रश्ने सादरो भृशम् ।
परोक्षेऽपि गुणश्लाघा स्मरणं प्रियवस्तुषु ॥

'A look from a distance, asking questions with an amiable smile, deep respect, praising even in absence, recollection of pleasant things (are signs showing that a master is well disposed towards his servant)'

This stanza is quoted in H (HJ 2.56, HS 2.56, HM 2.59, HP 2.52, HN 2 51, HK 2 59, HH 48, 18-9, HC 64.12-3) and according to RR (12.11-2) is ascribed to N and Nār.

The various texts of H contain one minor variant in *b*. The same variant is also found in RR.

It is difficult to read HJ 2.56 without the following stanza i. e. 2.57 ; by mistake RR does not quote HJ 2.57, both stanzas refer to servants and masters.

27. The fourth stanza is found in the story of "The Lion, the Mouse and the Cat", II.4 ; it reads :

नाऽनिवेद्य[4] प्रकुर्वीत भर्तुः[5] किंचिदपि स्वयम्[6] ।
कार्यमापत्प्रतीकारादन्यत्र[7] जगतीपते[8] ॥

"O Lord of the world, [a servant should not do anything spontaneously without having informed [his] master, unless he does

1. The stanza is also quoted in SRBh (145.138) and IS (650).
2. Cf. MBh (4.4, 9) and many others.
3. संप्रश्नेऽवादरो RM, HP, HN, HK, RR
4. अनिविद्यं IS.
5. भृत्यः IS ; भर्तुम् SRBh.
6. प्रियम् RR.
7. कारात्नान्यत्र HL.
8. जगतीपतेः HS, HP, HN, HK, RR, SRBh (better).

it in order to overcome a threatening calamity (which could befall the master)."

This stanza is quoted in H (HJ 2.90, HS 2.86, HM 2.90, HP 2.80, HN 2.79, HK 2.89, HH 55.2-3, HC 72·13-4) and according to RR (12.15·6) is attributed to N and Hār.[1]

The various texts of H are identical with the exception of two minor variants in *pāda d*. One of these variants is also found in RR. This stanza deals with the obligation of servants; many similar stanzas are found in the Smṛtis and Nītisāstras;[2] several similar stanzas are also found in H in other passages.[3]

28. The fifth and last of these stanzas is found in the story of "The Cow-keeper, the Barber and their Wives", II. 6 (b); it reads :

अतथ्यान्यपि[4] तथ्यानि दर्शयन्ति हि[5] पेशलाः[6]।
समे[7] निम्नोन्नतानीऽव चित्र-कर्म-विदो जनाः[8] ॥

"*Skilful men can make even false things to appear as true ones, just as persons skilled in the art of painting [can make appear] hill and dale [on their painting] whose surface is plain*"

This stanza is quoted in HJ 2.112, HS 2.109, HM 2.113, HP 2.101 HN 2.100, HK 2.111, HH 59.23-4, HC 79.-3) according to RR (12.13-4) is attributted to N and Hār, It is also quoted in Dh (1.1,69) and ascribed to VyK 7, SCM 7 and VySau[9] 5.

The various editions of H are identical with the exception of one minor variant in *pāda b* which is also found in RR. Otherwise, RR is identical with H. The digests contain minor variants in *pādas ab*, but some MSS of RR contain major variants in *pādas cd*. This stanza is a typical *dharma* stanza and seems to be well-known, since such digests as SCM, VyK, VySau have quoted it.

1. The stanza is also quoted in SRBh (146.142) and IS (3580).
2. Cf. P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra 3. 159-60.
3. Cf. tale II. 3 (a) of "The Thief, the Ass and the Dog"
4. °निच SCM, RR (notes).
5. °यन्त्यति HH, HS, HM, VySau, RR.
6. विचक्षणाः SCM, VyK.
7. सम Pp in HS.
8. चित्रकर्माविदो जना इत्यशुद्धः पाठः RR (notes).
9. The stanza is also quoted in IS (125).

29. The four stanzas quoted above contain elements of *dharma*-or *nīti-śāstras* and probably belong to some unknown texts of Smṛtis, although their origin cannot be traced to any of the published Smṛtis, and in particular to Vi, N or Hār (including the Laghu-Hārīta-Smṛti and Vṛdha-Hārīta-Smṛti). This seems even more likely, since some digests ascribe their origin to Vi, N or Hār. However, the latter argument does not seem to be irrefutable, since it has been often proved that some authors ascribed the origin of stanzas to well-known authors in order to add some prestige to their sayings.

30. In addition to the thirteen stanzas analyzed above, the origin of some stanzas can be traced to some Dharmaśāstra sources[1] other than Mn, viz. HJ Intr. 27 (Vasiṣṭhadharmaśāstra 13.56-7, Vi 32.16[2]); HJ 1.15 (DhSp 1.11; 183. 16-7 (Bh)); HJ 1.62 (Gautamasmṛti 5.25, Āpastambīyadharmasūtra 2.2,4, 11-2[3]); HJ 1.120-2 (Vi 71.66); HJ 1.121-2 (Vi 25.3; 9.10-2, Bṛh 25.9-11); HJ 2.30 (N 6.2, Bṛh 16.11); HJ 2.111 (N 1.277-9 Vyāsa in Apar, Pitāmaha in Mit[4]); HJ 2.142-3 (Y 1.367, N Pariśiṣṭa 38[5]); HJ 3.30 (Vyāsa and Hār in DhSP, Aṅgirah-smṛti in Śaṅkha-Likhita-dharmasūtra and Śaṅkha in Mit); HJ 3.31 (Aṅgirahsmṛti in Mit and in Apar); HJ 3.32 (Mit Vīramitrodaya *ad* Y 1.86); HJ 3.55 (Vi[6] 3.6), HJ 3.56 (Bṛh in VRR[7] 204); HH 82.10-3 and HJ 3.149 (Y 1.353, Vi 3.33[8]); HJ 4.88 (Vasiṣṭhadharmaśāstra[9] 10.18); and HJ 4.100 (Vyāsa in RR 12.3-4). Some of these stanzas e.g. HJ 1.15, HJ 3.30, HJ 3.31, HJ 3.32 and HJ 4.100 were probably borrowed by Nārāyaṇa directly from these sources.

1. For the purpose of this paper the MBh stanzas of books XII and XIII were not considered as Dharmaśāstra stanzas.
2. Also Mn 2. 136.
3. Also Mn 3. 107, 99 ; 4. 29.
4. Also Mn 8. 86.
5. Borrowed from MBh 12. 85, 25. Cf. Mn 8. 126.
6. Also Mn 7 70-1.
7. Cf. MBh 3. 56 in VRR 199.
8. Also Mn 9. 294.
9. Also Mn 6. 66.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE TEXTUAL STUDY OF KĀLIDĀSA'S MEGHA-DŪTA

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1. EDITION

A. TEXT ONLY

The Méghadūta or Cloud Messenger . a poem in the Sanscrit language. By Cālidāsa. Translated into English verse [also text], with notes and illustrations. By Horace Hayman Wilson. Hindoostanee Press : Calcutta 1813.

Reprint without text. Black, Parry and Co : London 1814.
Second ed. Richard Watts : London 1843. [Also text, notes and vocabulary]
Third ed. Trübner and Co: London. 1867. [Vocabulary by Francis Johnson].

Kalidasae Meghaduta et Śringaratilaka, ex recensione J. Gildemeisteri, Additum est glossarium. H. B. Honig : Bonn 1841. [Text with notes and glossary in Latin].

Meghadûta, der Wolkenbote, Gedicht von Kâlidâsa, mit Kritischen Anmerkungen und Worterbuch, herausgegeben von Adolf Friedrich Stenzler. Max Malzer: Breslau 1874. [Text with critical notes and glossary in German].
[Later uncritical printed texts are not mentioned]

B. TEXT IN ANTHOLOGIES

Meghadūta, Text only

In John Haeberlin's Kāvya-saṁgraha. W. Thacker and Co.: Calcutta 1847. [Follows Wilson's text].
In Dīnanātha Nyāyaratna's Kāvya-saṁgraha. Kāvya-prakāśa Press: Calcutta 1859. [Based on Haeberlin's text],
In Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's Kāvya-saṁgraha. Nūtana Bhārata Press: Calcutta 1872. [Also based on Haeberlin] 2nd ed. Sarasvatī Press: Calcutta 1886; 3rd ed. in 3 vols. with editor's own commentary, Sarasvatī Press: Calcutta 1888.

C. TEXT WITH COMMENTARIES

Meghadūta, with the commentary Saṁjīvanī of Mallinātha

Ed. Benares 1849. In the litho [Another Benares ed. is litho 1867 and also from Kāśī Saṁskṛta Press, 1877].

Ed. Madana Mohana Śarman Tarkālaṁkāra. Sanskrit Press: Calcutta 1850.

Ed. Vāg-visva-mudrā Press: Calcutta 1850.

Ed. In Telugu characters. Vivekādarśa Press: Madras 1859.
[Other Telugu ed. from Vibudha-manohāriṇī Press, Madras 1876 and from Ādi-sarasvatī-nilaya Press, Madras 1877.

Ed. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī Bhātavadekar. Bombay 1866. [With a glossary].

Ed. Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara. Sanskrit Press: Calcutta 1869. [With an appendix containing variants from Bengal commentaries].

Ed. Vavilla Ramasvāmi Śāstrī. Madras 1863. Also another edition in Grantha characters from the Hindu-bhāṣā-saṁjīvanī Press: Madras 1870; also from Vidyā-kalpataru Press, Palghat 1889],

Ed. Ajita Nātha Nyāyaratna. Calcutta 1870.

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Ed. Kolārada Nārāyaṇa Sāstrigal. In Kannaḍa characters. Vicāra-darpaṇa Press: Bangalore 1876.

Ed. Kāsinātha Pāndurang Parab. Nirnaya Sāgar Press: Bombay 1877. [2nd ed. 1883; 3rd ed. 1887].

Ed. V. S. Islampurkar. Bombay 1889. [Contains extracts from six commentaries].

Ed. Gopal Raghunath Nandargikar. With English translation, copious notes and various readings. Gopāl Narayan and Co., Bombay 1894. [Uses a large number of MSS of the text and commentaries].

Ed. Kashinath Bapu Pathak. [Along with Jinasena's text]. Aryabhūsan Press: Poona 1894. 2nd Ed. 1916. [Notes variants from some Jaina commentaries].

[There is a large number of other and later editions with Mallinātha's commentary, but it is not necessary to notice them here].

Meghadūta, with the commentary Arthabodhinī of Kaviratna Cakravartin. Printed in Bengali characters. [With a Bengali translation]. Calcutta 1950.

Megha-dūta, with the commentary (Avacūri) of Kanakakīrti-gaṇi. Printed in litho. Benares 1867.

Megha-saṁdeśa, with the commentary Vidyullatā of Pūrṇa-sarasvatī.

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Meghadūta, with the commentary Pañjikā of Vallabhadeva.

Ed. E. Hultzsch. With English-Sanskrit vocabulary. Royal Asiatic Society: London 1912. [Edited from four MSS].

Megha-saṁdeśa, with the commentary Pradīpa of Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha.

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Meghadūta, with the commentaries Saṁjīvanī of Mallinātha and Carıtravardhanī of Cāritravardhana, and a modern commentary.

Ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series: Benares 1931. Reprint 1953.

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Meghadūta, with the commentary Tātparya-dīpikā of Sanātana Gosvāmin and Kavipriyā of Śāsvata

Ed. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri in Prācyavāṇī x, pt. 2 and xi. Calcutta 1853-54. Edited from two MSS from India Office and one MS from ASB collection].

[For other commentaries not yet in print, see under Manuscripts. Text with modern commentaries are not mentioned here].

2. ADAPTATION, TRANSLATION AND PARAPHRASE

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Die tibetische Übersetzung von Kālidāsas Meghadūta, nach dem roten und schwarzen Tanjur herausgegeben und ins Deutsche Übertragen von Herman Beckh. Berlin 1907. (Aus dem Anhang zu den Abhandlungen d. Kongl. Preuss. Akad... ...vom Jahre 1906)-

Meghadūta, as embodied in Megha-samuccaya or Meghadūta-samasyālekha of Meghavijaya, ed. Jaina Ātmananda-Granthamālā, Bhavnagar 1914.

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3. SOME MODERN TRANSLATIONS

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Meghadūta oder der Wolkenbote, eine altindische Elegie dem Kālidāsa nachgedichtet und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Dr. Max Muller. [Metrical German Translation]. Adolf Samter : Konigsberg 1847.

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Meghadūta or the cloud-messenger by Kālidāsa. Translated from Sanscrit into Ukrainian verse, with preface and notes, by Prof. Paul Ritter. Ukrainian Society of Oriental Research : Kharkow 1928. [The Appendix contains a translation from Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali essay on Meghadūta].

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[English translation also in the editions of Pathak and Nadargikar as well as in other popular editions. The trrnslations in Indian languages are too numerous to be listed here].

4. MANUSCRIPTS

This list is not exhaustive, but it is hoped that no important item is omitted. MSS mentioned in Reports, Lists and Notices of Search of MSS are generally not mentioned, as well as MSS in private possession or existing in private libraries. Only MSS to be

found in important libraries are listed here. I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras University for helping me in compiling the list. The abbreviations are as given in his New Catalogues Catalogorum.

[C=Commentary ; inc = incomplete ; fr = fragmentary]

A. THE TEXT, OCCASIONALLY WITH GLOSS OR COMMENTARY

Adyar II, p. 10b—11. (19 MSS, eight of which have C) p. 11b (2 MSS, both inc) ; Ahmedabad 93 (a) ; Allahabad 175 ; Alwar 949 ; America 1626—1631, 1636 (with C) ; Ānandāśrama 665 (with C), 3257, 4159, 4368, 4756, 5221 (with C), 6098 (with C) ; Annāmalai Univ. 30 ; AU 2⁽665, 32705 ; Baroda Accession nos. 756, 790 (both with C) 4377, 4378, 4379 (with C), 5442, 12398, 13608, 4379 (with C) ; Ben 36, 37 (inc) ; Bik 238 ; Bikaner 3055-60, 3063-65 (C only) ; BISM B 936/22 ; Bonn Univ. 2210 (with C) ; BORI D. xiii 2, nos. 494-497, 515, 520-25, 531-39 (some MSS with Ṭippaṇa) ; Br Mus. 224-25 (with C) ; Burnell 160b (2 MSS), 161a (5 MSS) ; Cabaton I nos. 659 (2), 716, 717 ; Chani 2837, 2853, 3555 ; Cranganore Palace I 98, 148, II 428, 463 (with C) ; Cs VI 108, 109 (with C, inc), 207-210 ; CU Add. 2110 ; Dacca 33E, 256A, 321F, 408F, 1016B, 1079B, 1994, 2280 (inc) ; Delhi p. 10, no. 125; Firenze 432 ; F 173, 74 ; GD 1867-72 : Granthappura p. 89, nos. 1867-1874 ; H 72-74, 75, 77 (C only), 78-79 (with gloss) ; Harihara Sastri xxxviii, 3 ; IIO 129, 130 ; IM 7812 (inc), 8974 (inc), 9032 (inc), 9170 (with C), 10001, 10113, 10254, 10446 (inc), 10752 (inc), 11256 ; IO 3770/3060, 3771/2737, 3772/2019, 3773/1491d, 3781/2650 (with C), 6998-7033 (two with C) ; Jodhpur p. 10, no. 242 ; Jones 410 ; Kāmakoṭi Maṭha p. 11, no. 441 (with C) ; Kandy I p. 45, nos. 3, 13 ; Kandy II p. 8, E 8 (with C, called Sanne) ; Karkal 22 (f) ; Katm 6 (with C) ; Keonjhar State no. 6 (b) ; Kotah 721, Kāvya sec. no. 10 ; Lz 411-13, 415 (fr.) ; Mad. Univ. 24 (Pūrva-m.), 476 (Uttara-m.), also 8 MSS—15 (Uttara-), 409, 551, 558, 592 (Pūrva-) 749, 768 (Pūrva-), 919 containing C only (some inc) ; Mandlik Libr. List p. 69 (2 MSS, one with C) ; MD 11869-11873, 11874 (inc), 11875 (inc), 11876, 11877 (Uttara-m), 11881 (inc with C), 11882 (Pūrva-m. with c), 11883 (inc) ; Moodbidri II, 605 (inc), 717 (inc) ; MT 1171 (Uttara-m.), 420a (Pūrva-m) 4943c Uttara-m.), 5182 (inc) ; Mysore I, p. 252 (2 MSS, one with C) ; Nepal p. 31 (inc), p. 56 (inc), p. 78 (inc) ; Oxf 125b ; Oxf II, nos, 1249-50, 1251 (with C), 1253 (with C), 1254-55 (with C) ; Paris D 44 ; PUL II, p 262, nos. 4502-04, 4514-15 (C only) ; Rāmeśvaram 212 ; RASB vii. 4947/2381, 4949/7810 ; SB p. 304 (2 MSS, with C) ; Skt. Coll. Ben. 1897-1901, p. 41 (with C) ; Skt. Coll. Cal, nos. 119-24 (one MS fr.) ; Srī Dev. 338 ; SSPC II. C.

17, 22, 50, 59, 62 (all with C), 64, 91, 116, 156 ; Stein 71 ; TA 1173, 1176, 1838, 1842, 1903, 1907, 1955, 2112, 2147, 2763 ; TD 3864-69 (6 MSS, same as noted by Burnell, except Burnell 160b), 3870-73 (4 MSS, all inc, not noticed by Burnell), 23552 ; Tirupati 589 ; Tra. Ad, Rep. 1104, App. B p. 29 no. 160 ; Trav. Univ. 428B, 461B, 471C, 754A (inc), 999B (inc), 2536B, 4602 (with C), 6960 (with C) ; Triv. cur. Collection IV, p. 23 ; Trippūṇittura A 357, 365, 372, 387 ; Tüb. 16 ; Ujjain p. 41, nos. 1974-76 ; Vaṅgīya p. 202 (inc), 203 (Pūrva-m) ; Viśvabhāratī 315 (with gloss), 831 (with gloss), 2332 (with gloss); W 1537, 1544.

B. COMMENTARIES AND COMMENTATORS

Anvaya-bodhinī, Avacūri, Avacūrṇī or Kathaṁbhūtī These are the descriptive names by which some of the Commentaries mentioned above are called.

Āṣaḍa : Ṭīka. Mentioned by Bālachandra on Viveka-mañjarī. Perhaps the same as Āsaha or Asaha mentioned by the commentator Janārdana (Peters, iii. 102, 324). Son of Kaṭuka : wrote the Viveka-mañjarī in 1192 A. D. (P. K. Gode, Calcutta Oriental Journal, ii, 199f).

Uddyotakara : Ṭīkā. Quoted by Kalyāṇamalla on 47. Nāgeśa or Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa (beginning of the 18th century) wrote a commentary called Uddyota on Govinda Ṭhakkura's Pradīpa commentary on Mammaṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa. Are these two Uddyotakaras identical ?

Kanakakīrti-gaṇi : Ṭīkā or Avacūri. Pupil of Jayamandira, who was pupil of Jinacandra Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha.

Br. Mus. 224/Or. 2145b (MS dated 1462 A. D.) ; Lz 416 (no date).

(For edition, see above).

Kamalākara : Śṛṅgāra-rasa-dīpikā. Son of Chaturbhuja and Mahlayi. Pays homage to Gaṅgādhara and Śeṣa Nṛsiṃha (c. end of the 16th century). Also wrote a comm. on Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya and Harivilāsa.

Bh 1904-6, p. 43.

Kalpa-latā

Peters. iv. 28 ; BORI 747 of 1886-92.

Kalyāṇamalla : Mālatī. Styled Rājarṣi, son of Gajamalla and grandson of Karpūra of Padmabandhu family. Patron of Bharata-mallika (q. v.).

IO nos. 3774/1584, 3377/529 ; Oxf 125b ; L 2383 (vii. p. 148).

Kavicandra : Manoramā

L 3174 (ix, p. 251) in Bengali characters.

Kaviratna Cakravartin : Artha-bodhinī

Dacca 1994 (70 G); RASB 4956/10802 (the title Cakravartin is here omitted).

(For edition, see above).

Kṛṣṇadāsa Vidyāvāgīśa: Ṭīkā. Also wrote a comm. on the Gīta-govinda.

Sūcīpattra 12.

Kaumudī and Kaumudī-kāra, quoted by Bharata-mallika on 60, 87, 90, 104 etc.

Kṣemahaṁsa-gaṇi : Ṭīkā. Pupil of Jinabhadra-Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha. Also commented on Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra and Vṛttaratnākara.

Peters. iii. 395, vi. 346 ; BORI 329 of 1884-86, 346 of 1895-98.

Cāritravardhana or Cāritravardhana-gaṇi : Ṭīkā. Son of Rāmacandra Bhiṣaj; had the title of Vidyādhara or Sāhitya-vidyādhara. Probably belonged to the Kaiatara-gaccha. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra°, as well as on Śiśupāla°, Naiṣadha° and Rāghavapāṇḍavīya.

Peters. vi. 345 ; RASB 4954/10070 ; BORI no. 345 of 1895-98.

(For edition, see above)

Cintāmaṇi : Ṭīkā

B 2, 98.

Jagaddhara : Rasa-dīpikā. A well known Maithili scholiast and son of Ratnadhara. Also commented on Kumāra° as well as on Mālatī-mādhava, Vāsavadattā, Veṇī-saṁhāra, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, etc.

L 1966, (v, p. 287) (in Maithilī characters)

Janārdana : Ṭīkā or Bhāṣya, Pupil of Ananta. Also commented on Raghu°. Date probably between 1192 and 1304 A. D. (P.K. Gode, Calcutta Or. Journal ii, 188f). Refers to previous commentators by name, Vallabha, Asaha or Asaba and Sthiradeva.

Peters. iii. 324 ; Baroda 2176

Janedra : Ṭīkā

NW 616.

Jinahaṁsa : Ṭīkā. Pupil of Dharmasundara-gaṇi.

CPB 7777 ; Jinaratnakośa 314a enters one MSS.

Tattva dīpa

Nabadwip 694.

Dakṣiṇāvarata or Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha : Pradīpa. Referred to by Mallinātha, Dinakara and Cāritravardhana. Quotes Keśava-svāmin (12th century) and is quoted by Aruṇācalanātha who is earlier than Mallinātha. Belonged probably to the 13th century.

Triv. Curr. III, p. 11, no. 86 (Dīpa) V, p. 32, no. 231; Cranganore Palace I, 361.

(For edition, see above).

Dinakara Miśra : Ṭīkā. Son of Dharmāṅgada and Kamalā. Also commented on Raghu°.

Baroda 11364.

Divākara or Divākara Upādhyāya : Ṭīkā or Meghadūta-dyotikā. A protégé of a king of Mithilā. Quotes Kaṇṭhābharaṇa. Wrote before 1385 A. D. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra°.

IO no. 3780/1516d; Mithila 3580; Mithila II p. 114 (inc.); Hpr. iii, 237.

Niruktakāra, quoted by Mallinātha (Oxf. 126a)

Parameśvara : Sumanoramaṇī. Son of Ṛsi and Gaurī of Payyur Bhaṭṭatiri family, Malabar (Kerala State). Appears to know the comm. of Pūrṇasarasvatī. His date is probably between 1400 and 1500 A. D. (about the middle of the 15th century). See Introd. to the ed. of his work and *Poona Orientalist* ix, p. 148.

GD 1875 ; Granthappura, p. 89, no. 1875 ; Trav. Ad. Rep. 1104, App. B. p. 29 (no. 160) : Trav. Univ. 615, 5114. The comm. exists in a longer and a shorter recension (see Adyar Libr. Bulletin, Feb. 1945 and C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume).

(For edition, see above).

Pūrṇa-sarasvatī : Vidyullatā. Pupil of Purṇajyotirmaṇi. Also author of Ṛju-laghvī (ed. N.A. Gore, Poona 1943) and Haṁsa-saṁdeśa (ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series, 1937). Lived probably in the 14th century.

Annāmalai Univ. 36 ; Avanapparambu Mana 183B ; Cherp. 150 (1) ; Elankulattu Kurūr Bhaṭṭatri 7 ; GD 1873-74 ; Granthappura p. 89, nos. 1873 (inc), 1874, p. 92, no.

1948; Krangat Mana 150A; PUL II p. 262, no. 4510; TCD no. 1486; Trav. Ad. Rep. 2600; Trav. Univ. 99A (inc), 142 (inc), 180, 267, 5983; Trippūṇittura A 184, 185, D 150a.

(For edition, see above)

Bṛhaspati. Quoted by Bharata-malika on 70. Surnamed Miśra. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra°.

Bhagīratha Kavi: Ṭīkā

Varendra p. 3, no. 76

Bhagīratha Miśra: Tattva-dīpikā. Son of Harṣadeva of the Pitamuṇḍi family, lived under Jagaccandra of Kūrmācala (Auf I, p. 394). Also commented on Raghu,° Kirāta,° Śiśupāla° and Naiṣadha.° May be the same as above.

L 221 (i, p. 127): SSPC II, C. 23 (both in Bengali characters).

Bharata-mallika or Bharatasena: Subodhā. A Bengali Vaidya or physician, son of Gauraṅga-mallika, descended from the family of Vaidya Harihara Khān, protégé of Kallyāṇmalla (q. v). Lived about 1750 A. D. Had also the title of Kavirāja. Commented on the standard Mahākāvyas including Raghu° and Kumāra°, on works on grammar, lexicon etc.

AS p. 152; 10 3774/1584, 3725/994, 3776/415; Mithila II, p. 117; Oxf 125b; RASB 4958/4028.

(For edition, see above).

Makaranda Miśra: Megha-saudāmanī

Alph. List. Ben. Govt. p. 91, no. 1076; RASB 4955/1076.

Mallinātha: Saṃjīvanī. Also called Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri (Pedda Bhaṭṭa), a well known scholiast who commented on the five standard Mahākāvyas including Raghu° and Kumāra.° Also wrote a C on the Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara. Lived about the end of the 14th century.

Adyar II, p. 11a (7 MSS, the last 4 inc); America 1632-34; AU 29665, 71161 n 25; Baroda 6558, 7261b; BBRAS 1213; Bikaner 3061-62; BORI vii, nos. 498-503 (6 MSS); Burnell 160b, 161a (8 MSS); Chani 2312, 2902; Copenh. 13; Granthappura p. 93, no. 1993; 10, nos. 3774/1594, 3778/1398C, 7001; Jodhpur p. 10, no. 243; Kainur 13; Kizhakkumbāgattu Mana 51A; Lz 414 (fr.); MD 11878, 11879 (inc), 11880, 11884 (inc), 11885 (inc) 1186, 15829 (7 MSS in all); Mithila 3581; MT 1771b, 4943c (both Uttara-m. inc); Oxf 125b; PUL II p. 262, nos. 4505-08; Rajapur 575; Śrī. Dev. 338; Śṛṅgeri Mutt

311a; Stein 71 (2 MSS, one inc): TD 3874-14 (11 MSS, all noticed by Burnell, except the first and last, some inc); Trav. Univ. 856, 1344A (inc), 2536A, 3107, 3569A, 4002, 5516 (inc); Uiśva-bhāratī 1388, 2067 (inc).

Mahimasiṁha-gaṇi: Ṭīkā. Pupil of Śivanidhāna of Kharatara-gaccha. The C was composed in Saṁvat 1693 (=c. 1637 A. D.).

BORI vii, nos. 504-5; Jinaratnakośa enters three MSS.

Mahīmeru: Bālāvabodha-vṛtti
Jaina Granthāvalī p. 335.

Meghadūta-sthūla-tātparya
IO no. 3774/1584 (appended to the MS in two leaves giving an analysis, verse by verse, and a list of authorities).

Megharāja, Megharāja-gaṇi or Megharāja-sādhu: Subodhikā or Sukha-bodhikā. Between 1172-1404 A. D. (P. K. Gode in Poona Orientalist, i, no. 3, pp. 50-51),

BORI 479 of 1899-1915, 390 of 1884-87 (dated A. D. 1404).

Meghalatā

BORI 160 fo 1882-83; L. 3076 (ix. p. 163). Jinaratnakośa 341a enters one MS.

Moṭājit Kavi: Ṭīkā
BORI 392 of 1884-87.

Ravikara: Ṭīkā. Perhaps the same as Ravikara, son of Harihara, and commentator on Piṅgala and Vṛttaratnākara. L 3371 (x, p. 112) in Bengali characters.

Rasika-rañjanī
Pallurutti 19B.

Rāma Upādhyāya: Ṭīkā
Rice 238.

Rāmanatha Tarkālaṁkāra: Muktāvalī
IO 3774/1584; Oxf 125b.

Lakṣmīnivāsa: Śiṣya-hitaiṣiṇī. Son of Śrīraṅga and pupil of Ratnaprabha Sūri. Wrote in 1458 A. D.

America 1635; BORI 344 of 1895-98, 159 of 1882-83; H 76; Oxf II, no. 1252; W 1545 (gives the date Saṁvat 1514=c. 1458 A. D.).

Vatsa-vyāsa (or Śrīvatsa-Vyāsa): Śiṣu-hitaiṣiṇī. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra.°

BORI 748 of 1886-92 ; Baroda 6089 ; Stein 71.

Vallabhadeva: Pañjikā. Surname Paramārthacihna. Son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva, father of Candrāditya and grandfather of Kayyaṭa. (Oxf 113b). Belonged probably to the first half of the 10th century. Commented on Rudraṭa's Kāvyalaṁkāra and the several standard Kāvyas of Māgha, Mayūra and Ratnākara, as well as on Raghu° and Kumāra.° The oldest known commentator on the Megha.°

America 1633 ; Baroda 1837 (b), 1844 ; BORI 82 and 84 of 1883-84 ; Br. Mus. 226 (C called Vṛtti, Pañjikā or Ṭīkā) ; H 74 ; PUL II, p. 262, no. 4509.

(For edition, see above)

Vijaya Sūri or Gaṇi; Ṭīkā. The C was composed in Saṁvat 1709 = c. 1653 A. D. Also commented on Raghu° and Kumāra,° where he is said to be a pupil of Rāmavijaya-gaṇi.

BORI 443 of 1887-91 (C called Sukha-bodhikā)

Viśvanātha: Durbodha-pada-bhañjikā
NW 626 ; Trav. Univ. 6960.

Viśvanātha Miśra: Meghadūtārtha-muktāvalī
L 399 (i, p. 224) in Bengali characters ; Oudh xvii, 14 (Mutāvalī).

Śarva. Quoted by Bharata-mallika on 88.

Śāśvata: Kavi-priyā. Refers to Vallabha.
L 2740 (viii, p. 187) ; RASB 4953/5646 (fr.).

Śrīkaṇṭha and his Pupil: Ṭīkā
PUL II, p. 262, no. 4511.

Sanātana Gosvāmin: Tātparya-dīpikā. Son of Kumāra, brother of Rūpa and Vallabha and disciple of Caitanya. Scholar and Vaiṣṇava devotee. Flourished between 1490 and 1550 A. D.

IO 3774/1381A, 3779/1570 ; Oxf 125b.

Samayasundara-gaṇi: Ṭīkā. Pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil Jinacandra. Also commented on Raghu,° as well as on Vṛtta-ratnākara. He composed his Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra-vṛtti in 1636 A. D. at Ahmedabad.

PUL II, p. 262, no. 4513.

Sarasvatītīrtha: Vidvajjanānurañjinī. Narahari Sarasvatītīrtha, born in 1242 A.D in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. Describes himself as the son of Mallinātha and Nāgammā and grandson of Narasiṁha. Described as Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya. The C was written at Benares. Also

commented on Kumāra°. Author also of the Bāla-cittānurañjinī comm. on Mammaṭa where he gives an account of himself.

BORI 442 of 1887-91 (inc); Cambridge Univ. Libr, (Auf I, p. 446b); CU Add. 2110; RASB 4957/1041.

Sāroddhāriṇī

BORI 857 of 1882-83.

Sumativijaya: Sugamānvayā. Pupil of Vinayameru, he is said to have belonged to Vikramapura. Also commented on Raghu°.

BORI 549 of 1891-95, 351 of A. 1882-83; the Jinaratnakosa 314a enters 4 MSS.

Sthiradeva: Bāla-prabodhinī. Mentioned by the commentator Janārdana (Peters. iii. 324) q, v. Probably the earliest known Jaina commentator.

Alwar 949, Extr. 195; Baroda 1408, 12266; Mandlik Libr. List, p. 69. no. 10 (MS dated 1465 A.D.); Mithila ii, p. 115; (For edition, see above).

Haragovinda Vācaspati: Saṁgatā. Son of Vaṅkavihārin Gangopādhyāya of Krishnanagar in the Rāḍha country. Keith would identify him with Haragovinda Vācaspati, the author of Jñāpakavalī belonging to the Saṃkṣiptasāra grammar.

IO 3774/1584; Nxf 125b

Haridāsa: Ṭīkā. Probably the same as Haridāsa Miśra, son of Viṣṇudāsa; commented also on Raghu° and Kumāra°.

Oudh xiv, 28.

5. CRITICAL AND LITERARY NOTICES

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KALIDASA'S QUEST AFTER THE CULTURED MIND.

By

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and

S. Ramachandra Rao, Mysore

Not all the works of Kālidāsa have mortals as their heroes. While the *Meghadūta* has a semi-divine as its hero, the *Kumārasambhava* has a divine in its Śiva. And, it is too clear that the hero of the *Raghuvamśa* Rāma, is but an incarnation of the supreme. The dramas of Kālidāsa, therefore, are the only works where the heroes happen to be mortals.

In portraying the working of the mind of these mortal heroes in his plays, Kālidāsa bestows considerable thought. Indeed, his earnest attempt even from the beginning seems to be to study the behaviour of the mind of the ideal hero whom he was trying to sketch in his plays.

His first hero was certainly Agnimitra, King of Vidisā. Though technically he may be classified as a Dhīrodātta, he possesses the qualities of a Dhīralalita in plenty. Two outstanding traits of his mind impress themselves on the reader; the first one is its *dākṣiṇya*—politeness, civility, courtesy; and the second one is its devotion to the fine arts. It is Agnimitra's courteous mind, which compells him not to marry his new-found love Mālavikā without getting the necessary permission to do so from his first queen Dhāriṇī.[1] Again in the fourth Act we are told how Mālavikā had witnessed the king's consideration and respect not only for his queen Dhāriṇī but also for his second consort Irāvatī. Indeed, he was even afraid of wounding the feelings of the latter. However, when later Agnimitra meets the yonng lady and assures her that she need never be afraid of Irāvatī, Mālavikā tauntingly observes how she had seen the 'power of His Highness in the presence of the young queen Irāvatī'.[2] At this, Agnimitra makes a remark which displays the true quality of his mind. "Courtesy, fair lady", he declares "is the family vow of the descendants of

1. देवी—(मालविकां अवगुण्ठनवतीं कृत्वा) आर्यपुत्र इदानीमिमां प्रतीच्छतु ।
Mal., Act V.

2. राना—अयि न भेतव्यम् ।
मालः—(सोपालम्भम्) यो न बिभेति स मया भट्टिनीदर्शने दृष्टसामर्थ्यो भर्ता ।
Mal., Act IV.

A. Hillebrandt: Kālidāsa. Breslau 1921, p. 69f.

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2. राना—अयि न भेतव्यम् ।
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Mal., Act IV.

Bimbaka,"[1] This remark on the part of the king not only reveals the reason for his behaviour towards Irāvatī, but at the same time shows how courtesy is a quality of the highest type of mind and how it could be had by one of noble descent only. The Vidūṣaka, the King's close companion, knows this special character of the king and compliments him on his possessing this rare quality. He even warns him from doing anything which would imperil this precious quality of his mind—

नार्हति भवान् अन्तःपुरप्रतिष्ठितं दाक्षिण्यं एकपदे पृष्ठतः कर्तुम्

(*Mal.*, Act III).

Equally conspicuous is the mind of Agnimitra, a mind which is seasoned by the cultivation of the fine arts. Dance, Music and Painting hold the prince's attention and delight him. The appointment of Haradatta and Gaṇadāsa as preceptors of Dance in the Royal Court, speaks of the prince as a great patron of that art. He is a connoisseur of this art besides; and knows what perfect dancing is.[2] He appreciates discriminatingly the rhythmic standing pose of the danseuse Mālavikā and describes it as being lovelier than her dance.[3] But what matters to Kālidāsa in portraying such a mind, is the fact that the fine arts culture the mind and cultivate in it the powers of suggestive expression. It is only a mind illumined by the aesthetic sense that could make a highly suggestive observation like the one which Agnimitra makes on seeing Mālavikā in person. "Friend", he exclaims to the Vidūṣaka, "When I saw her in a picture, my mind was appreciative of her real beauty, but now I feel that the painter was slack of concentration while painting her."[4] By making the king remark thus, Kālidāsa was not only revealing the great beauty of Mālavikā but also was revealing the nature of a mind sharpened by the study and contemplation of the fine arts.

While Kālidāsa saw in the mind of Agnimitra two essential qualities of a cultured mind, he discovered that two more qualities were necessary to make a mind look better. These two he

1. दाक्षिण्यं नाम बिम्बोष्ठि वैम्बिकानां कुलव्रतम् ।
तन्मे दीर्घाक्षि ये प्राणास्ते त्वदाशानिबन्धनाः ॥

2. अंगैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः पादन्यासो लयमुपगतस्तन्मयत्वं रसेषु ।
शाखायोनिर्मृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबंधस्स एष ॥

Stanza 8, Act II.

3. नृत्तादस्याः स्थितमतितरां कान्तमृज्वायतार्घम्

4. चित्रगतायामस्यां कान्तिविसंवादशङ्कि मे हृदयम् ।
संप्रति शिथिलसमाधिं मन्ये येनेयमालिखिता ॥

Mal. II—2.

suggested in the portrayal of the mind of king Purūravas. The habit of feeling humble after achieving a magnificent task makes the king of Pratiṣṭhāna most affable. The task of defeating a demon like Keśin was by no means an easy one for a mortal; and yet, king Purūravas accomplishes it and rescues from the clutches of the demon, nymph Urvaśī and her friend Chitralekhā. Nay, he even goes to the extent of disclaiming all his greatness and valour involved in the great deed and attributes it all to the valour of mighty Indra, whose humble servant he merely prefers to be. For, when Chitraratha, the Gandharva king, congratulates Purūravas and invites him to Indra's court, the king very courteously excuses himself by saying—"Say not so. For it is indeed through the might of Indra that his allies succeed in conquering enemies; even the echo of the roar of a lion spreading from the caves terrifies the elephants" (Act. I-15).[1] The Gandharva chieftain stands speachless at this rare exhibition of modesty and contents himself by exclaiming aloud—"This is natural. For, the ornament of valour is modesty".[2]

It is one thing, however, for the mind to direct the body to do deeds of physical valour; it is quite a different thing for it to sponsor great ideas. Kālidāsa visualised in an ideal mind the capacity to propound great and novel ideas. It was only the mind of the great king Purūravas which could decide that pleasures from love were of greater weight than pleasures from kingdom. It needs a brave heart to put out an idea like that before the world and Purūravas' mind was equal to it. For, Kālidāsa tells us in the concluding portions of the third Act of the play '*Vikramorvaśīyam*', that when the king was associated with Urvaśī and when he was congratulated upon this by his constant companion, the Vidūṣaka, the king accepting the sincere congratulations of a friend exclaims—"Indeed, sir, this is my peak hour of glory. For, I do not consider myself so happy with the obtainment of sovereignity characterised by a universal umbrella and by my edicts brightened by the crest jewels of feudatory kings, as I do now by the obtainment of the charming servitude of this lady"[3]

1. राजाः—मा मैवम् ।
नमु वज्रिण एव वीर्यमेतद्विजयन्ते द्विषदो यदस्य पक्ष्याः ।
वसुधाधरकन्दराद्विसर्पी प्रतिशब्दोऽपि हरेर्भिनत्ति नागान् ॥

2. चित्ररथः—युक्तमेतत् । अनुत्सेकः खलु विक्रमालङ्कारः ।

—Act. I.

3. राजाः—इयं तावत् वृद्धिर्मम । पश्य ।
सामन्तमौलिमणिरञ्जितशासनाङ्कमेकातपत्रमवनेर्न तथा प्रभुत्वम्
अस्याः सखे चरणयोरहमद्य कान्तमाज्ञाकरत्वमधिगम्य यथा कृतार्थः ॥

II—19.

(*Vik.* III-19). In this declaration of the king, there is no doubt that Kālidāsa strove to disclose that it was one of the most important essentials of a great mind to adumbrate new and great ideas.

Thus far, in the attempt to portray an ideal mind, Kālidāsa had succeeded in saying that modesty, artistic sense, capacity for achieving deeds of physical and mental valour were all its essential traits. But he was aware that these were not equal to making a mind completely an ideal one. He, therefore, set himself to the task of finding the ideal mind, the great mind. Such a mind he found in that of king Duṣyanta. When Kālidāsa found this great creation of his genius reacting to certain subtle situations in life, the play-wright discovered the other qualities which completed the picture of an ideal mind.

Of these, the first one was certainly the habit of repenting for one's mis-deeds; deeds done wilfully or otherwise. It is difficult to find in the entire realm of Samskrit literature, a parallel to the repentent mind of king Duṣyanta. Kālidāsa dedicates the entire sixth Act of his greatest play to the portrayal of such a mind. At the very commencement of the Act, we see before us the king attired in consonance with his repentent mood—"ततः प्रविशति पश्चात्तापसदृशवेषो राजा". It was indeed a very distressing situation in which the king had landed himself. He did not forget Sakuntalā wilfully. Nor did he think it convenient to forget her out of fear of the other queens in his household. Indeed, his forgetfulness was due to the curse of the sage Durvāsas, pronounced on Sakuntalā. And yet, when he recollected his past association with Sakuntalā on seeing the signet ring, he was struck by remorse. It was not the nature of a cultured mind to console itself by thinking that the deed was not wilful and that therefore the responsibility for inflicting pain on others was not of its making. That would after all be the working of a common place mind. Duṣyanta's mind would never commit that mistake. It was, therefore, in the grip of great remorse; and, the thought of the tragic picture of Sakuntalā at the time of her departure after rejection 'burnt his mind like a poisoned shaft.'[1] No wonder that Sānumatī was impressed by this repentent attitude of Duṣyanta.[2]

1. इतः प्रत्यादेशात्स्वजनमनुगन्तुं व्यवसिता
स्थिता तिष्ठेत्युच्चैर्वदति गुरुशिष्ये गुरुसमे ।
पुनर्दृष्टिं बाष्पप्रसरकलुषामर्पितवतो
मयि क्रूरे यत्तत्सविषमिव शल्यं दहति माम् ॥

Act VI—9.

2. अस्य सन्तापेनाहं रमे ।

Act VI.

The faculty to repent for one's misdeeds, howsoever done, is a great and necessary quality of an ideal mind. And Kālidāsa feels further that the capacity to discard unrighteous conduct as also to accept only the righteous would make the mind even greater. Two instances in the great play reveal this aspect of the cultured mind of Duṣyanta. The first instance occurs in the very first Act where the king is out on a hunting expedition. His mind is all set in the delightful sport of hunting. But when the sages of the hermitage bring it to the notice of the king that the deer being hunted belonged to the holy Āśrama and that therefore, it deserves not to be killed,[1] Duṣyanta's mind reacted instantaneously; and he put the shaft into the quiver. Here Kālidāsa shows how a perfect mind could exercise control over itself and desist from yielding to temptations.

No wonder again that such an ideal mind refuses to succumb to the temptation of accepting a beautiful woman for a wife, when she offers herself as one. For Śakuntalā told him that she was his legally wedded wife; and the holy sages were there to vouchsafe the fact. For a second, even the mind of king Duṣyanta was in a dilemma. It felt 'like a bee at the break of day on seeing a *kunda* flower with dew inside'.[2] But the cultured mind of Duṣyanta was quick to decide. The answer came—"Ascetics, I do not really recollect having accepted this lady".[3] The admiration of the courtiers knew no bounds; and the door-keeper summed up their feelings by saying—"Oh! Lord's regard for righteousness! Who else will deliberate indeed on such beauty so easily attained.[4]

Kālidāsa thus portrays situations to show how a great mind takes quickly righteous decisions. As it is the nature of a cultured mind always to choose the correct path, no other authority need be there to vouchsafe for the conduct of the possessor of such a cultured mind. Duṣyanta's conduct again is a case in point.

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1. राजन्, आश्रममृगोऽयं न हन्तव्यो न हन्तव्यः

Act I.

2. इदमुपनतमेवं रूपमक्लिष्टकान्ति
प्रथमपरिगृहीतं स्यान्नवेत्यव्यवस्यन् ।
भ्रमर इव विभाते कुन्दमन्तस्तुषारं
न खलु सपदि भोक्तुं नैव शक्नोमि हातुम् ॥

V—19.

3. भोस्तपोधनाः, चिन्तयन्नपि न खलु स्वीकरणमत्रभवत्याः स्मरामि ।

4. अहो धर्मापेक्षिता भर्तुः । ईदृशं नाम सुखोपनतं रूपं दृष्ट्वा कोऽन्यो विचारयति ।

Act V.

The king sees Sakuntalā in the penance grove for the first time. He is struck with her charm and is deeply in love with her. But the cultured mind of Duṣyanta would not allow him quiet. Was it proper for him as a Kṣatriya to make love and arrange for a wedlock with a Brāhmaṇa girl ? After all, the fair maiden of his sight belonged to a hermitage and his surmise might not be wrong. A second's reflection thus was enough ; and the cultured mind of Duṣyanta came to the conclusion that the damsel "undoubtedly was capable of being wedded by a Kṣatriya, as his 'Aryan mind' had a longing for her ; for to the cultured, in matters of doubt, the inclination of their heart was the deciding authority."[1] Kālidāsa had at last succeeded in discovering a cultured mind ! It was the mind of Duṣyanta. Kālidāsa calls it as "*Āryaṁ manaḥ*." He had also succeeded in portraying the behaviour of such a mind and holds up Duṣyanta's mind as a model for the future generations of his countrymen to follow.

1. असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥
I—22.

THE HISTORY OF THE ART OF CAPPING VERSES

(Pratimālā or Antyākṣarikā or Bhaṇḍī) in India—Between c. 1st Century A. D. and A. D. 1900.

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I propose in this paper to deal with the history of the art of capping verses, which is current in some parts of India. It seems from the following evidence that this art is at least 2000 years old.

In the Marathi Dictionary *Śabdakośa* by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Poona, 1936, Vol. V, p. 2332, the word *Bhaṇḍī* is explained as follows :—

Bhaṇḍī = The practice of reciting verses in which one boy first recites a verse, the last letter of which comes at the beginning of a verse recited by a boy (of the opposite party). In this way alternately the recitation of verses goes on between two individuals or two groups of individuals, sometimes on certain conditions.

No derivation or the history of the term "*Bhaṇḍī*" is recorded in the *Śabdakośa*. Students of the Marathi language and literature will find it worth while to investigate the history of this pastime in view of its antiquity established in this paper.

In the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* by C. T. Onious we find the following reference to the phrase "*To cap verses*" current in the English language :—

Page 260—To cap verses—to reply to one quoted with another that begins with the final or initial letter of the first or otherwise corresponds with it."

No dated usages of this phrase are recorded in this Dictionary. It is, therefore, difficult to say when the pastime of "*capping verses*", which is practically identical with the pastime of *Bhaṇḍī*, originated in England.

E. Cobham Brewer in his *Dictionary of Phrase and* Fable, London, 1912 records the phrase "*To cap verses*" and explains it as follows :—

Page 211—Cap Verses (To)—Having the metre fixed and the last letter of the previous line given, to add a verse beginn-

ing with the given letter (of the same metre or not, according to pre-arrangement) thus :

English—"The way was long, the wind was cold (D).
Dogs with their tongues their wounds do heal (L).
Like words congealed in northern air (R).
Regions Cæsar never knew (W).
With all a poet's ecstasy (Y).
You may deride my awkward pace, etc."

Latin—"Nil pictis etc."

It would make a Christmas game *to cap proper names* : Plato, Otway, Young, Goldsmith, etc. or *to cap proverbs*, as

"Rome was not built in a day" ;
Ye are the salt of the earth ;"
Hunger is the best sauce" ;
Example is better than precept" ;
Time and tide wait for no man" ; etc "

Brewer does not record any historical information about the phrase "To cap verses" from English, Latin or Greek sources.

The antiqu̇ty of the pastime of *Bhaṇḍī* or capping of verses in India needs to be established on the strength of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources. The references in Sanskrit sources are rare ; I record below the references that have come to my notice and feel confident that other scholars interested in the history of Indian recreations or pastimes will supplement them with other references noted by them during the course of their cultural studies :—

(1) The lexicographer Puruṣottamadeva[1] composed a lexicon called *Hārāvalī*, which is quoted by Sarvānanda in *A.D. 1159*, the date of his commentary on the *Amarakośa*. He also quotes three other works of Puruṣottamadeva in his commentary besides the *Hārāvalī*. Though the exact date of Puruṣottamadeva is not fixed, he is supposed to belong to the 12th century A.D. *Hārāvalī* has been published in the collection of twelve lexicons (*Dvādaśa-kośa-saṁgraha*) edited at Banaras in Saṁvat 1929 (A.D. 1873). This is a lithograph edition. At the beginning of this edition of *Hārāvalī*, verse 17 reads as follows :—

"शेषमक्षरमादाय प्रतिश्लोकं क्रमेण यत् ।
अन्योन्यं पठ्यते श्लोकः प्रतिमालेति सा मता ॥ १७ ॥"

Here the word *pratimālā* is explained by this lexicographer of 12th century. According to him *pratimālā* is that (pastime) in which verses are recited by two parties alternately, each party reciting a verse, which begins with the last letter of the verse

1. See p. xxi of Introduction by Rāmavatāra Sharma to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I (G.O. Series,) Baroda, 1928.

recited previously. It is clear from this explanation that the pastime *pratimālā* is identical with *Bhaṇḍī* of Mahārāṣṭra and the *capping of verses* current in England as vouched by the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* of Onius and the *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* of Brewer. The continuity of this pastime of *Bhaṇḍī* in India from c. A. D. 1100 to 1957 is evident from the definition of *pratimālā* given by *Hārāvalī* (earlier than A.D. 1159).

(2) The word *pratimālā* is found in the *Kāmsūtra*[1] of Vātsyāyana in *Adhikaraṇa* I (Chap. 3) where we find a list of 64 *Kalās*[2] or arts in which the accomplished girl of the day was expected to be proficient. Among literary arts[3] or pastimes we find the following :—

(i) प्राहेलिका—setting of puzzles and solving riddles.

(ii) प्रतिमाला—repartee in *ex tempore* verse.

(iii) दुर्वाचनायोगः—participation in reciting verses difficult to interpret and not easy to pronounce.

(iv) पुस्तकवाचनम्—melodious and attuned reading.

(v) नाटकाख्यायिकादर्शनम्--dramatic criticism and analysis of narratives.

(vi) काव्यसमस्यापूरणम्—*ex tempore* filling up of the missing line of a verse.

The commentator Yaśodhara in his commentary called the *Jayamaṅgalā* explains the art *pratimālā* in the above list as follows :—

"प्रतिमालेति । यस्या अन्त्याक्षरिकेति प्रतीतिः । सा क्रीडार्थी वादार्थी च । यथोक्तम् :—

'प्रतिश्लोकं क्रमाद्यत्र संश्रयाक्षरमन्तिमम् ।
पठेतां श्लोकमन्योन्यं प्रतिमालेति सोच्यते ॥ इति ।"[4]

In the above remarks on *pratimālā* Yaśodhara states that *pratimālā* was known in his days as अन्त्याक्षरिका, which was practised both for the purposes of sport (*krīḍarthā*) and contest (*vādārthā*). He then gives us a quotation from some source, which defines *pratimālā*. This source needs to be identified. The definition of *pratimālā* given in the quotation of Yaśodhara is practically identical with that given by Puruṣottama in his lexicon *Hārāvalī*. In fact one appears to be a paraphrase of the other as will be clear by putting them together as follows :—

1. *Kāmasūtra* ed. by Kedarnath, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1909.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 32-34..
3. *Ibid*, p. 33.
4. *Ibid*, p. 37.

(1) Puruṣottama's *Hārāvali* :—

"शेषमक्षरमादाय प्रतिश्लोकं क्रमेण यत् ।
अन्योन्यं पठ्यते श्लोकः प्रतिमालेति सा मता ॥"

(2) Verse quoted by Yaśodhara :—

"प्रतिश्लोकं क्रमाद्यत्र संधायाक्षरमन्तिमम् ।
पठेतां श्लोकमन्योन्यं प्रतिमालेति सोच्यते ॥"

Are we to suppose that Yaśodhara is quoting from memory the definition of *pratimālā* in the *Hārāvalī* ? Even if this suggestion is not accepted, we can definitely state that in the time of Yaśodhara and Puruṣottama the art of *pratimālā* or capping of verses, whether for sport or contest, was current as it is today in some parts of India.

It is curious to note that the name *antyākṣarikā* अन्त्याक्षरिका for the *pratimālā* of the *Kāmasūtra*, given by Yaśodhara as in vogue in his time, is current even today in Gujarat, as my friend Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri informed me some time ago. In Gujarat it is called *antyākṣarī* and people of Gajarat enjoy this pastime at caste-dinners. At Nagpur in the new Bombay state it is also called *antyakṣarī*. In recent years they arrange contests in this sport in schools and colleges and give prizes to successful individuals or parties as my friend Prof. Kulkarni of the Nagpur University informs me. A friend of mine observed such contests in the United Provinces also sometime ago. Those interested in the history of Indian games or pastimes should record some detailed information about the *antyākṣarī* or *pratimālā* on the strength of regional sources, literary or otherwise. We must also search for the usages of the words *pratimālā* and *antyākṣarikā* in lexicons and other literary sources.

The *pratimālā* (or *antyākṣarīkā* or *bhaṇḍi*) appears to be similar to some verbal artifices used by Sanskrit writers more than 1200 years ago. In this connection I gratefully record below the following extract sent to me by my friend Dr. A.N. Upadhye of Kolhapur from Jacobi's Introduction (p. xxii) of his edition of *Samarāicca-kahā* (Bib. Ind, Calcutta, 1926) :—

"There is another verbal artifice which he (Haribhadra) employs both in verse (79, 1-10; 449, 9-19; 498, 19; 499, 6) and in prose passages (137, 6-9; 94, 10-13; 8-11; 423, 19; 424, 8); it consists in this that *each line or phrase (compound) opens with a word repeated from the end of the preceding one*, e. g. p. 498 l. 19-20 कंचणत्थंमं थंभोविय, or 499, ll. 3-4 हारनिउरुंबं हारनिउरुंब. This artifice which I will call *śṛnkhalā*, resembles a kind of *yamaka* (*saṁdaṣṭa yamaka*, See *Kāvyādarśa* III, 51f.); but it is not *yamaka* proper. For in a

yamaka the repeated syllable must be identical without, however, containing the same word, while in *śṛṅkhalā* the same word is repeated and the syllables are not necessarily exactly the same (see the first of the above examples). The *śṛṅkhalā* is an old artifice, the oldest instance of it is the 15th Adhyayana of the 1st Srutaskandha of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* named from its opening words *jamaīyam* (*yad atītam*), which also means 'consisting of *yamaka's* (*yamakīyam*). It is worthy of remark that the later *yamaka*, the predecessor of rhyme, originally denoted the repetition of words whereby a series of verses are also interconnected"

While in the *pratimālā* the last *letter* of a verse becomes the first letter of a verse to be recited, in the *śṛṅkhalā* artifice used in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and in Haribhadra's work the last *word* or *phrase* becomes the opening word or phrase of the verse or prose passage that follows. It remains to be determined whether the *pratimālā* is indebted to the *śṛṅkhalā* artifice or *vice versa* in any way. In point of antiquity both these literary artifices appear to be equally old.

The poet Bhaṭṭi (between *c.* A. D. 500 and 650) gives illustrations of some *Śabdālaṅkāras* in chap. X of his *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. Various kinds of *yamaka* are illustrated by him by verses. Among these *yamakas* we find an illustration of *Kāñcī-yamaka* in the following verse 8 of Chap. X (B S.S. No. LVII—*Bhaṭṭikāvya*, Vol. II, 1898, p. 5):—

"पिशिताशिनामनुदिशं **स्फुटतां**
स्फुटतां जगाम परिवि**ह्वलता** ।
ह्वलता जनेन वहुधा **चरितं**
चरितं महत्त्वरहितं महता ॥ ८ ॥"

In this example of *Kāñcīyamaka* we find within the compass of the four lines of the verse the last word of each line repeated as the first word of the succeeding line in the manner of the different parts of a girdle (*kāñcī*). This verbal artifice is, however, confined to one single verse and does not connect other verses or passages as in the case of the *śṛṅkhalā* artifice used in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and by Haribhadra.

It is possible to suppose that the literary game of *pratimālā* or *antyākṣarikā* or *bhaṇḍī* may owe its origin to the verbal artifices like the *Śṛṅkhalā* and the *Kāñcī-yamaka*, which are more than 1500 years old. The game of *pratimālā* is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* among the 64 arts. It may have originated long prior to the *Kāmasūtra*. If this suggestion is accepted we can easily conclude that this game is at least 2000 years old and curiously

enough it is current today. What other countries[1] of the world practised this game in ancient or mediæval times I cannot say, as I am not conversant with the cultural history of these countries.

1. "Prof. L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia University has drawn my attention to the following passage about verse games in China :—

"*The Importance of Living* by Lin Yutan, p. 246—

"Variations of literary games are infinite. One popular among scholars is for each person in town to say a doggerel line of seven words for the other person to follow up with another rhymed line the poem as a whole degenerating into pure nonsense at the end Lines usually begin with some comment on some object or person in view or the scenery. Every person is to say two lines, the first one completing a couplet begun by the preceding person, and the second leading off a new couplet for the successor to finish The first line sets the rhyme and the third, fifth, seventh (and so on) lines must keep to it "

I would like to know from Japanese scholars if such verse games are or were current in Japan."

I am very much thankful to Prof. Goodrich for the above passage about verse games in China so promptly sent by him.

SUBHAṄKARA KAVI AND HIS WORKS ON MUSIC AND DANCE

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1. Subhaṅkara Kavi is a powerful writer on music and dance, who seems to have been a great and popular authority on these subjects till very recent times. He is also one of the earliest music scholars to have adopted the system of *rāga* and *rāgiṇī* division after the *Saṅgīta-makaranda*. In his works so far discovered, namely, the *Hasta-muktāvalī* and the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, he exhibits a love of bold and painstaking detail and some amount of independent thinking.

2. The *Hasta-muktāvalī* or *Śrī-hasta-muktāvalī*, as it should be called according to an injunction in the text itself, is the earlier of Śubhaṅkara's two works, as it is so mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*. A sufficiently reliable Agar wood bark manuscript of the work in old Assamese script was lying in the monastic archive of the Āuniāṭi-sattra in Mājuli (a small island on the Brahmaputra, hallowed by the existence of numerous Vaiṣṇava *sattras* or establishments) in the Śibsāgar district. The numbering of *ślokas* runs up to 916, although a few lines seem to be missing here and there. This seems to be the most complete copy of the work so far noticed. The value of the manuscript is greatly enhanced by the elegant rendering of the original Sanskrit into lucid Assamese. The name of the copyist is Jagarā. The manuscript also contains at the end the words 'Sucanda Rāi Ojā's book' (*Sucanda rāi ojār pustaka*) ; and we can perhaps conclude that this Ojā (literally, master musician of a *sattra* or village) was responsible for the translation into beautiful Assamese prose. The language of the translation, we believe, must not be later than the eighteenth century A. D. Apart from the literal rendering all through, the Assamese writer expounds in places the original text, especially in the description of the manipulation of *hastas* to signify different objects. The translation would also help us a great deal in fixing readings of the original text. The Assam Research Society at Gauhati took a loan of the manuscript for some time from the Āuniāṭi-sattra and prepared a transcript. Profs. S. N. Chakravarti and D. Goswami edited 13' initial *ślokas* of the work and published them in the Journal of the Society, Vols VIII-IX, 1 41-43, with parallel English translation by the latter. The Society's transcript is at present found missing. Another copy, however, was prepared by the late Sri Kālirām Medhi, which was made available to me

for the purpose of editing and publishing the book. About half the work with the old Assamese rendering was edited and published by me in a local Assamese monthly, the *Rāmadhenu*, vols. III-IV. The Sanskrit text is now being serially published in *The Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, from Vol. XXIV, 1953.

An undated manuscript of the *Hasta-muktāvalī* in Bengali character, with 'fresh' appearance and 'generally correct' orthography, was discovered in the Durbār Library of Nepāl, and has been described by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī in *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta, 1905 pp 270-72. The last *śloka* in this manuscript is numbered 955, and is followed by the words *'iti Śubhaṅkara-viracitā hastamuktāvalī samāptā'*, although the last line of the manuscript is really the first line of the *śloka*, numbering 902, in the *sattra* manuscript (*sarvalokānurāgaśca nṛpacitte sadā sthitiḥ*). From the extracts cited by Śāstrī, there seem to have been considerable variations in the text from the Assam manuscript.

In the Durbār Library there is also a manuscript in Newāri script of a commentary on the *Hasta-muktāvalī*, styled as *Hasta-muktāvalī-sāra-samuddhṛtikā*, written by one Ghanaśyāma in 795 of Newārī era, that is 1675 A. D., for the edification of the son of Ananta, the Nepāli king Jagajjyotirmalla's (1617-33 A. D.) daughter's son. This mauscript is noticed by Sāstrī in his *Catalogue* at page 272.

There is another undated, incorrect and worn-out palm-leaf copy of the work found in Mithilā in the possession of Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Parameśvara Jhā, Tarauni, P O. Sakri, Darbhanga. This copy, however, extends up to the description of the *mṛgaśīrṣa-hasta* (corresponding to the end of *śloka* 603 of the Assam manuscript), the detailed application of twelve of the *asaṁyuta hastas* and all the *saṁyuta hastas* being thus left out (Kashiprasad Jayaswal, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila*, Patna, 1933, pp. 170 f.).

Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras University informs us that in course of his recent European tour he found in one library in London a copy of the Nepāl Durbār Library manuscript of the *Hasta-muktāvalī*, a microfilm of which he has arranged to secure.

In the Bodleian Library, Oxford (H.H. Wilson's collection), there is an incomplete manuscript copy of a work, styled as *Hastaratnāvalī*, in Bengali script, a photostat reproduction of which has been obtained by Sri N. S. Krishna Murthy of Nellore (Andhra). This seems to be a gloss on Śubhaṅkara's work, written by one Brahmin king, Srī-rāghava-rāya. The last *śloka*

in the manuscript of this work is the 613th one in the Sattra MS of the *Hasta-muktāvalī*.

3. The *Hasta-muktāvalī* is a treatise on hand-poses (*hasta*) alone, and does not concern itself with movements of legs, waist, neck and eye-brows in dance. The main tenets of the art are based on the great *nāṭya* authority, Bharata, who is actually mentioned in two *ślokas* :

रतौ निगदिता तर्हि भरतेन रसावहा ॥ २६९

यत्र या या मया प्रोक्तास्ताः प्रोक्ता भरतादिभिः ॥ ५३९

There are no specific references to other writers and writings on the subject in the work, although here and there Śubhaṅkara refers in a general manner to experts in *nāṭya* :

निषधो नाम हस्तोऽयं तदा स्यात् कविसंमतः ॥ ६९

.... स्वस्तिको हस्तः कथितो हस्तकोविदैः ॥ ७३

.... प्रोक्तः खड्गे नाट्यविशारदैः ॥ १८५

........भवेत् प्रवीणसंमतः ॥ ३३३

...... नृत्यविदग्धैरभिधीयते ॥ ३६५

........इति सर्वस्य संमताः ॥ ४८२

He claims that he has consulted all *saṅgīta-śāstras* before writing this book (v. 911) :

यत्नात् संगीतशास्त्राणि विलोक्य निखिलान्यपि ।

रचिता भारतौमेतामादित (?) विचक्षणैः ॥

But he asserts his own views in many places :

शुभंकरेण कविना नानाभिनयशालिना । २५

......मकरः शुभंकररसावहः ॥ ७४

.... .. कथितौ शुभंकरकवेः प्रियौ ॥ ११३

and has his own interpretations and explanations to give. Courageously enough, he differs from Bharata, the supreme authority on the subject. He possesses the self-confidence needed to introduce himself in these terms (v. 2) :

धीवन्धुर्गुणसिन्धुदुर्धरतरोद्गाढावगाढस्फुर-

ज्जोतिर्नर्तकनर्तकीभिर्विलस्य (?) संगीतवियोत्सुकः ॥

and his work in these words (v. 3) :

सद्वर्णोज्ज्वलरूपिणी गुणयुता वैदग्ध्यचित्रान्विता

नानाभावरसान्विता रसकरी सीमन्तिनी वापरा ॥

There are, as has been noted above, 916 *ślokas* in the Anuṣṭubh metre according to the manuscript numbering. There is no strict chapter division in the book. The subject, however, is dealt with very much systematically and elaborately. The following is a short analysis of the whole work: benediction and indication of the subject and the mode of treatment (vv. 1-11); classification of *hastas* into *asaṁyuta* (single or separate), *saṁyuta* (joint) and *nṛtta* (pure dance) *hastas* (vv. 12-14); enumeration of 30 *asaṁyuta hastas* (vv. 15-19); enumeration of 14 *saṁyuta hastas* (vv. 20-22); enumeration of 27 *nṛtta hastas* (vv. 23-29); appearance or character (*lakṣaṇa*) of each of the 30 *asaṁyuta hastas* (vv. 30-63); appearance or character of each of the 14 *saṁyuta hastas* (vv. 64-79); enumeration of the objects (*viṣaya*) of each of the *asaṁyuta hastas* followed by a description of the character or way of manipulation of the *hasta* representing respective objects (vv. 80-736); enumeration of the objects each of the *saṁyuta hastas* followed by a description of the character or way of manipulation of the *hasta* representing respective objects (vv. 737-858); repetition of the names of *nṛtta hastas* (vv. 859-866); different movements of some of the *asaṁyuta hastas* in order to articulate *nṛtta hastas* (867-894); a few relevant matters about the 'hands' and conclusion (vv. 895-916).

4. Śubhaṅkara makes very distinct references to this earlier work of his in the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara.* I am grateful to Prof. Alain Danielou of the Adyar Library for sending me the following extracts from the latter work. The references are to Prof. Danielou's copy of the same, prepared from the London and Paris manuscripts (See seq.).

१. एषामेकसप्ततिवर्णितानां लक्षणं ममैव हस्तमुक्तावलीग्रन्थे ज्ञातव्यम्
(नृत्यप्रकरणे, पृष्ठे २७८) ।

२. मत्कृतहस्तमुक्तावल्यामवगन्तव्यम् (पृष्ठे २७८) ।

३. तत्सर्वं ममैव हस्तमुक्तावल्यामनुसन्धेयम् (पृष्ठे ३३८) ।

४. खटिकापटपुण्यानि सिन्धूत्थं स्फटिकादयः ।
हस्तमुक्तावलीकर्तुरियं कविमुदे कृतिः ॥
(रसप्रकरणे पृष्ठे ४८७, श्लो० ६५) ।

५. .... शुभंकरकविः संगीतदामोदरम् ।
संगीतदामोदरहस्तमुक्तावलीसुधासेचनमेव शेवधिः
(ग्रन्थकर्तुर्वंशपरिचयप्रकरणे, पृष्ठे ५७४) ।

5. The *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* has not so far been printed. Dr. V. Raghavan and Prof. Alain Danielou gave notices of this work in the *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, in vol. IV, 1933, p. 73, and in vol. XXII, 1951, pp. 129-31, respectively. Prof.

Danielou has prepared a copy of his own from two copies of the work, one in 67 folios, dated 1644 Śaka (1722 A.D.), in Maithili character, now in the Paris National Library, and the other, dated 1643 Śaka (1721 A.D.) in 52 folios with numerous orthographic mistakes, preserved in the India Office Library. Another manuscript in 121 folios was kept in the Krishnanagar Library, and was later transferred to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta ; but it has not since been traced.

6. The work is in five *stavakas*, and deals with all the various aspects of Saṅgīta. The *rāga* and *rāgiṇī* division of six male melodies and their wives is utilized here. Śubhaṅkara gives also *dhyānas* of these male and female melodies. Prof. Danielou writes :

"It appears that the system definitely belongs to the Eastern School of music of Northern India now everywhere predominant."

"The *Saṅgīta-Dāmodara* seems to be by far the most important and comprehensive work on music written after *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara.* It gives an elaborate and lengthy description of all the aspects of the theory of expression and of musical technique.

"It remained an undisputed authority in the Easterm part of India until quite recent times and it appears that the musical system it describes remained in effect until our age."

Śubhaṅkara mentions a number of earlier works, notable among which are the *Daśarūpa*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (11th cent. ?), *Saṅgīta-cūḍāmaṇi* (12th cent. ?). *Ratnakośa* (also mentioned by Nānyadeva, 12th cent.), *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* (? 13th cent.) and *Nāṭyalocana*. The names of persons mentioned include Bharata, Nārada (author of the *Saṅgīta-makaranda* ?), Vātsyāyana, Kālidāsa and Ujjvaladatta.

7. The identification of Śubhaṅkara Kavi has created a lot of confusion, and nothing has so far been fixed with certainty in the matter. In *śloka* 912 of the *Hasta-muktāvalī* the Nāṭya scholar appeals to "the great people of Kuṣinara" (the Old Assamese rendering being '*kuṣinara deśur mahantaskal*') to treat his work with kindness :

ये ये हस्तकशास्त्रज्ञाः कुषिनरमहत्तराः ।
तेऽनुगृह्णन्तु परमां सदा (मुदा ?) मद्भारतीमिमाम् ॥

Kālirām Medhi sought to read कुशीलवमहत्तराः for कुषिनरमहत्तराः ; but the Assamese rendering of the phrase does not warrant such an emendation. Kusinārā or Kuśinagara is well-known as the place

of the Buddha's passing away, and is generally identified with the present-day village Kasia, thirty-seven miles to the east of Gorakhpur. This was anciently called Kuśāvatī or Kusāvatī, being the capital of (south) Kośala (N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India,* London, 1927, pp. 111-ff.). Our attention has been drawn by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan to the following extract from the *Mahāparinibhāṇa-sutta,* 206. The Buddha tells Ānanda that Kusāvatī, the capital of the Mallas, was full of ten types of sounds day and night.

कुसावती आनन्द ! राजठानी दसहि सद्देहि अविता अहोसि दिवा चेव रत्ति च । सेय्यथिदं—हत्थिसद्देन, अस्ससद्देन, रथसद्देन, भेरिसद्देन, मुदिङ्गसद्देन, विणासद्देन, गीत-सद्देन, सङ्खसद्देन, सम्मसद्देन, तालसद्देन, अस्नाथ पिवथ खादथा'ति दसमेन सद्देन ।

It would appear that Kusinārā, which was full of musical (as well as unmusical) sounds in the Buddha's days, came to have some musical importance at the time of the composition of the *Hasta-muktāvalī,* and that Śubhankara belonged to this place in eastern U. P. In connection with the question of his place the occurrence of the word '*Koca*' in his *hasta* work (v. 518) as the name of a race of people (the Koces or Koches of north-eastern India) beside the word 'Kirāta' (v. 348), which has been interpreted in the Old Assamese rendering to mean another Tibeto-Burman group of people, the Kachrīs, may also ben noted. In the same work Śubhaṅkara describes himself (v. 201) as

कविचक्रवर्तिपदवीसंगेन संगीतवित् ।

The Assamese translator takes this to mean "one who has acquired a knowledge of music by staying in the company of *Kavi-cakravartin*", who has been sometimes identified with the court-poet of this epithet of kings Rudrasiṁha (1696-1714) and Sivasiṁha (1714-44) of Assam. But our frank opinion is that this phrase simply means "a musician endowed with the title of *Kavi-cakravartin.*" Ever since the discovery of the *Sattra* manuscript Śubhankara has been claimed as of Assam (K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kamarupa,* Shillong, 1935, p. 326 ; B. K. Barua, 'A short note on *Sri-Hastamuktāvalī*', *Journal of the Assam Research Society,* Gauhati, vol. VIII, pp 71 ff.). His Holiness the Sattrādhikāra Goswāmī of the Auniāti-sattra writes to us to say that the *Hasta-muktāvalī* has always been considered as a special property of his *Sattra*. But it is extremely doubtful if this work with its candid invocation to Lord Śiva at the beginning and end could ever have been written in a centre of Assam Vaiṣṇavism with its strong interdiction against paying obeisance to any other deity than Viṣṇu.

It has also been sought in some quarters to identify Subhaṅakra Kavi with the king Subhaṅkara Ṭhākura (1583-1619), who has been eulogised by old poets of Mithilā as an expert in music.

The king has also been taken to be the author of the astrological work, *Tithinirṇaya*, on the one hand, and of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* on the other (Pt Parameśvara Jhā, *Mithilātattvavimarśa* in the section on Śubhaṅkara, cited by Alain Danielou *op. cit.*; Mishra, *A History of Maithili Literature*, Allahabad, 1949, pp. 34 f.).

8. In the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* Śubhankara Kavi gives his family tree right from his great-grandfather up to his (Śubhaṅkara's) four sons, for whom this work was written, and the youngest of whom is named Dāmodara. The name of the Kavi's father here appears as Śrīdhara. This definitely proves that Śubhaṅkara Kavi is a different person from the Mithilā king, whose father's name is given as Gopāla (?) or Maheśa Ṭhākura. Alain Danielou places the *Saṅgīta dāmodara* between the middle of the 13th century A. D. and the middle of the 17th (*op. cit.*). It mentions the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* probably of Śārṅgadeva, written between 1210 and 1247 A. D. (Mangesh Ramakrishna Telang, *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, Anandasrama Skt. Series, 1896, intro., pp. ii-iii: *Saṅgīta-makaranda*, Baroda, 1920, intro., p. iii). In its turn it is profusely quoted in the *Rāga-taraṅginī*, mentioned by Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa (1667 A. D.).

The *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* seems to have become popular in eastern India soon after its composition. Śukladhvaja alias Cilā-rāya, brother, commander-in-chief and minister of King Nara-yaṇa of Koc Behāra (Kāmarūpa), quotes in his Sāravatī-ṭikā on the *Gītagovinda* some *dhyānas* of *rāgas* from the *Saṅgīta-dāmo-dara*—for example, the *dhyānas* of Mālava and Gurjarī taken from *Stavaka* III *ślokas* 63 and 87). Śukladhvaja died in 1571 A. D. The *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* must have, therefore been written by the middle of the 16th century at the latest. Another writer, a con-temporary of Śukladhvaja, named Rāma Sarasvatī, also incorporates into his verse rendering of the *Gītagovinda* some *rāga-rūpas* after this work.

9. In the light of the above considerations our position for the present would be that the *Saṅgīta dāmodara* and the earlier *Hasta-muktāvalī* are works written sometime between the middle of the 13th century A. D. and the middle of the 16th.

SECTION IV

PALI AND PRAKRIT STUDIES

ON THE ORIGIN OF PRĀKṚTAM AND PĀLI AS LANGUAGE-DESIGNATIONS.

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I

Prākṛtam is not the name of a particular language, but a general name, that serves to designate a group of many Middle-Indian languages: according to Vararuci, Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paiśācī; according to later grammarians these and many others; anyhow, those four constitute the essential nucleus for all grammarians.[1]

Whence comes this name? Pischel says[2]: "Under the name P r ā k r t a Indian grammarians and rhetoricians comprehend a lot of literary languages of which they consider as common feature the origin from Sanskrit. This is the reason why they derive *prākṛta* from *prakṛti* 'element', 'foundation', and this foundation is to them Sanskrit". Then he quotes some expressions of those grammarians; for instance, Hemacandra 1,1: *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam tatrabhavaṁ tata āgataṁ vā prākṛtam*; Dhanika in his commentary on *Daśarūpa* 2, 60: *prakṛter āgatam prākṛtam/prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam*; Simhadevagaṇin in his commentary on *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra* 2, 2: *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtād āgataṁ prākṛtam* and so on. But it is easy to see that this is a forced etymology: if the name had to say that the language has its foundation in Sanskrit, it would be **sāṃskṛtam*; *prākṛtam* can only mean 'fundamental, that constitutes the foundation' and the like; then Sanskrit would be the *prākṛtam* of Prakrit! To tell the truth, the grammarians quoted by Pischel mean something else, namely that *prakṛti-* = *saṁskṛta-*: then *prākṛta-* would indicate something that has its foundation in Sanskrit. But the equation *prakṛti-* = *saṁskṛta-* is quite groundless, and never could the first word mean by itself what the second denotes.

Therefore other opinions on the origin of the language-designation *prākṛtam* have been proposed. The same Pischel writes, on p. 14: "Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, *Kāvyālaṁkāra* 2, 12 derives the name Prakrit from the fact that its foundation (*prakṛtiḥ*) is the every day language of all beings, not regulated by grammar etc.; the Prākrit language is so called because it originates from such a language, or is this language itself. Or also, *prākṛta* stands

(1) R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, p. 2.
(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 1 § 1.

for *prāk kṛta*, that is 'formed in old times' (*pūrvam*), because it is said: "(Prākrit)' that is found in the Ārṣa canon, the Ardhamāgadhā, is the language of the gods: *ārisarayaṇe siddhaṁ devānam addhamāgahā vāṇī*. Therefore Prākṛta is the name of the language that is easily understood by children, women etc., and is the foundation of all languages. Like the rain water, it had (originally) only one and the same form, but owing to the difference of countries and to (grammatical) formations it became diversified and split up into the varieties of Sanskrit and the other languages named by Rudraṭa 2,12". This attitude of the eleventh century grammarian regarding Sanskrit is particularly interesting, because it reminds us of what two centuries later Dante taught about classical Latin, which according to him had been invented by the scholars with a view to obtain a changeless and constant language in opposition to the continuous alterations of popular languages; such invention consisted in building up in a grammatical system the popular language which is the foundation of the Romance languages. This is an audacious but after all a correct view: Sanskrit as well as classical Latin are the result, if not of "grammaticalisation", of selection, normalisation, and then of the establishment of a crystallizing tradition. In this sense Namisādhu's *prak kṛtam* corresponds to a view which is historically wrong (because Ardhamāgadhā is not the source, to be sure, of Sanskrit and the other Prakrits), but is founded on a sound principle; but it is hardly possible that the grammarians, or whosoever has created the term *prākṛtam*, should have thought of this theory, and above all that *prākṛtam* can have its origin from *prāk kṛtam*. On the contrary the first explanation given by Namisādhu, who has adopted it doubtless from previous authors, is worthy to be taken in consideration. Unfortunately I do not have at my disposal the original text of Namisādhu, and cannot establish whether the interpretation of it given by Pischel is completely correct; anyhow it seems to me that, at least in the beginning the explanation reported by Namisādhu started not from the meaning 'foundation' but from that of 'nature' of the word *prakṛti-*: *prākṛtam* would then designate the language as 'natural', that is as 'having its foundation in the nature'. In this sense the opposition of *prākṛtam* and *saṁskṛtam* would be easily comprehensible: the first is the "natural" language, the second is the language as "adorned", or "regulated" by the authors and codified by the grammarians. Linguistically the formation is completely justified: *prākṛtam* 'natural' is a derivation, correct from every point of view, from *prakṛti-* 'nature'.[1]

Nevertheless I have my doubts about this having been the idea of the originators of the term *prākṛtam*. As I have already

(1) I do not think that any other interpretation, besides those of the Indian grammarians, has been given. In Mayrhofer's *Handbuch des Pāli* (1951) I read on p. 7: "*prakṛta*–'natürlich, gemein'; oder zu *prakṛti*–'Grundlage', also: 'das Sanskrit–*saṃskṛtam*–als Grundlage habend'?".

pointed out, *prākṛtam* indicates not a particular language, but a group of many languages, above all Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paiśācī, that is of Middle-Indian languages that were employed in the literature, in opposition to the *saṁskṛtam* : the word should have come into use in the sphere of the authors of rhetorical works, who were in need of indicating the ranges of employment in literary works of the Sanskrit and of the Prakrit languages taken as a whole. Now every kind of literary work is normally written in only one language, which cannot therefore be "the Prakrit", but "a Prakrit", namely Māhārāṣṭrī or Māgadhī and so on, or otherwise Sanskrit. To this norm there is one exception only, which is constituted by the drama : here all languages come into use according to the person who is speaking, Sanskrit as well as "Prakrit", that is any one of the Prakrits. Cp. Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa* 1, 37 f.

> *saṁskṛtaṁ sargabandhādi, prākṛtaṁ skandhakādikam* /
> *āsārādīny apabhraṁśo, nāṭakādi tu miśrakam* //37//
> *kathāpi sarvabhāṣābhiḥ saṁskṛtena ca badhyate* /
> *bhūtabhāṣāmayīṁ prāhur adbhutārthāṁ Bṛhatkathām* //38/

Consequently Sanskrit has to be used for *kāvyas* and similar works, Prakrit in *skandhaka* and other metres, Apabhraṁśa for the *āsāra* ; on the contrary, theatrical writings are of mixed language. One can be in doubt as to the meaning of the first hemistich of *śloka* 38 : does Daṇḍin intend that a *kathā* can be written in Sanskrit or in one of the different *bhāṣās*, or that in the same *kathā* many languages can be used at the same time, as in the drama ? I do not think that a great importance has to be given to the word *api* ; we cannot conclude that "also" the *kathā*, like *nāṭakādi*, can be *miśrakı*, which seems to be Böhtlingk's opinion when he translates (in his edition, Leipzig 1890) : "···ein Schauspiel und Anderes zeigt ein Gemisch von Sprachen. Auch eine Kathā wird in allen Sprachen verfasst, aber auch in reinem Sanskrit". There is no "aber" in the text, and *api* can also mean "besides". It would anyhow be interesting to understand the hemistich in the second way : this would mean (1) either that in the Sanskrit text of a *kathā* Prakrit verses can be introduced (as it really happens, for instance in the *Śukasaptati*) ; but this is, as far as I know, a late usage, of which Daṇḍin could hardly be aware, or that (2) in the *kathā*, as in the drama, the different persons can be made to use different languages, according to their role. But unfortunately I do not know any work in which such a proceeding is put into practice. And after all a careful analysis of the passage brings us to the conclusion that the hemistich must be understood in the first way, as clearly indicated by the second hemistich : *bhūtabhāṣāmayīm prāhuradbhutārthāṁ Bṛhatkathām*. It represents a particular example of the foregoing utterance, a case

which appeared to the author worthy of being specially mentioned, because the language of this famous masterpiece differed from the commonly used *bhāṣās*; and therefore, as the *Bṛhatkathā* was uniform in its language, so must have been the other *kathās* also. Otherwise Daṇḍin would have said, in opposing Guṇāḍhya's practice to that of other writers, *bhūtabhāṣāmayīṁ tv āhur*. As for the rest, except for the case of Prakrit verses being scattered through the Sanskrit of prose (and only of the prose) in the *kathās*, a case which occurs in rather recent times, I do not know any narrative works at all, where different languages were employed together as in the drama. Daṇḍin's verse 38 is therefore to be translated in this way: 'Besides, the *kathā* can be written in any *bhāṣā* and also in Sanskrit; of the *Bṛhatkathā*, which has a wonderful subject, it is affirmed that it is composed in the language of the Ghosts".

It is therefore clear that the only literary kind in which the simultaneous use of many languages took plase, was the drama: *nāṭakādi tu miśrakam*. And here we must add that *nāṭakādi* is not to be translated, as Böhtlingk does, 'ein Schauspiel und Anderes', as if Daṇḍin did speak of other writings besides theatrical ones: here *nāṭaka* is employed to designate one of the ten varieties (*rūpa*) of drama, which are Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Bhāṇa, Prahasana, Vīthī, Utkṛṣṭāṅka (or Aṅka), Ḍima, Vyāyoga, Samavakāra and Īhāmṛga.[1] It is possible to doubt whether Daṇḍin taught the linguistic mixture for all ten *rūpas*: he restricts himself and says *nāṭakādi*, that is 'Nāṭaka and other *rūpas*'.

The term *prākṛtam*, as referring to the totality of literary Prakrits, which are opposed as a whole to the *saṃskṛtam*, should therefore have arisen in dramatic theory[2]. Now in the plays Sanskrit is limited to divine persons (but not to the Apsaras, e.g. Urvaśī), to the king and high officers, to the Brāhmaṇas (save the Vidūṣaka) and to some other persons of high status like the Parivrājikā of *Mālatīmādhava*; other characters speak Prakrit, that

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(1) Cp. Dhanañjaya, *Daśarūpakam* 8.

(2) Cp. *Bharatīya-Nāṭyaśāstram*, chap. 18:

evaṁ tu saṁskṛtaṁ pāṭhyam mayā proktaṁ dvijottamāḥ.
(i.e. in chap. 17)
prākṛtasyāpi pāṭhyasya saṁpravakṣyāmi lakṣaṇam || 1 ||
etad eva viparyastam saṁskāraguṇavarjitam.
vijñeyaṁ prākṛtaṁ pāṭhyaṁ nānāvasthāntarātmakam || 2 ||
trividhaṁ tac ca vijñeyam nāṭyayoge samāsataḥ.
samānaśabdaṁ vibhraṣṭam deśīgatam athāpi ca || 3 ||

It is interesting to notice that in *śloka* 2 the characteristics of Prakrit are of a rather stylistic nature, whereas from *śloka* 3 onwards strictly linguistic facts are dealt with.

is (to employ the happy definition in Monier-William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary) "the language spoken by women and inferior characters in the plays". Compare the passage of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* quoted by Lassen in his *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae* (Bonn, 1837), p. 35 f.:

puruṣāṇām anīcānāṁ saṁskṛtaṁ saṁskṛtātmanām.
śaurasenī prayoktavyā tādṛśīnāṁ ca yoṣitām.
āsām eva tu gāthāsu māhārāṣṭrīṁ prayojayet.
atroktā māgadhī bhāṣā rājāntaḥpuracāriṇām.
ceṭānāṁ rājaputrāṇāṁ śreṣṭhināṁ cārdhamāgadhī.
prācyā vidūṣakādīnāṁ, dhūrtānāṁ syād Avantikā.

Now, Sanskrit has a word to designate all categories of persons who are expected to speak Prakrit in the plays, that is *prakṛti-*: this term indicates, in Monier-William's words, "the subjects of a king, citizens, artisans, &c.", and also "woman or womankind". From this idea of the *prakṛtayaḥ* are excluded Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, who are no subjects, but cooperate in ruling the subjects:

prajāpatir hi vaiśyāya sṛṣṭvā paridade paśūn.
brāhmaṇāya ca rājñe ca sarvāḥ paridade prajāḥ.

(Manu, IX, 327)

Here *rājan-* is synonymous of *kṣatriya-*, *prajā-* of *prakṛti-*. So *prākṛtam* came to designate the language of women and subjects and by extension of the characters considered as standing on a lower plain, like the Vidūṣaka, though he was a Brāhmaṇa. Naturally the choice of this word has been supported, if not determined, by its likeness in the second and third syllables to that which designated the language spoken by the *anīcāḥ puruṣāḥ*, that is *saṁskṛtam*.

II

"But the word *Pāli* means 'text', then 'holy text'. If we indicate by it the language, then we employ it offhand in the place of *Pālibhāṣā*. The same meaning as *Pālibhāṣā* has *tantibhāṣā*." So says Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, p. 1. And M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli*, 1951, p. 14: "*Pāli*, means 'text', later on 'holy, canonical text' (as contrasted to the language of accompanying commentaries, the Singhalese). The use of the word Pāli as designation of the language is consequently to be compared to that of the term Avestan".

Before I go further I must point out that Mayrhofer's "later on (*später*)" is groundless and has probably been wrongly inferred from Geiger's "then (*dann*)". Geiger meant, not that the meaning 'holy text' is later documented than 'text'–and in fact there is no difference for the Buddhists between "text" and "holy text"–, but

that the meaning 'holy text' represents a specialisation of the supposed one 'text' in general, only because this one served him as the uniting link between the meaning of *pāli*–'holy text' and that of *pāli*– 'line, row, series', which he considered both as the same word, according to the tradition of lexicographers, at least in Europe. In such a way it seems possible to constitute a pedigree which starts from Sanskrit *pāli*–'line' series'. So we read in the Glossary to Dines Andersen's *Pāli Reader*: "p ā l i (often written *pāḷi*) f. (= *sa.*) a line, row, series[1]; a holy text, reading or passage of the holy text". But—is it so evident that *Pāli*–'holy text' is to be derived from *pāli* 'line, etc'? Then, this meaning is recent in Sanskrit, in comparison with that of 'border', which ultimately should go back to the meaning 'lobe of the ear' that the word has in Suśruta.

This is, I think, the reason why other etymologies have been proposed for *pāli* 'holy text'; one of these states that *pāli*–through **pāḷali*–goes back to *pāṭali*–, the first component of the name of Pataliputram (*Palibothra* in the Greek geographer Strabo); under this hypothesis *Pālibhāṣā* would be originally 'the language of Pāṭaliputra'.

This idea of Walleser's is indeed brilliant; unfortunately it has been disproved on linguistic grounds by Nobel and Michelson (for the bibliography, see Mayrhofer's Handbuch, p. 14, n. 2); and it seems difficult that Pali, the language of Western India, has been designated with the name of a town in East India, unless one maintains that Pāli was the name of the language in which was written the Buddhist primitive canon, some of whose linguistic features did penetrate in the Pāli canon, as it is demonstrated in H. Lüders' posthumous work *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literaturen und Kunst, Jahrgang 1954. No. 10): in this case "language of Pāṭaliputra", that is of the capital of Magadha, would be a fitting denomination. But there is another difficulty: if the word goes back to *Pāṭali(putram)*, then it would have designated originally the primitive canon and was therefore very old: on the contrary, as Childers points out (*A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, 1875, p. 321) "the term *Pāli* as a name for the Buddhist scriptures was of late introduction, probably dating from the first or second century after Christ ..It will be seen that the following examples of the use of the word *pāli* in the sense of 'sacred text' are all taken from later works".

I think therefore that another way may be tried, or at least I allow myself to point my fellow-Indologists towards a new way. Let us discard the origin from *pāli*-'line, row, series'; it does not offer noteworthy semantic

advantages and I doubt whether it was so current in Pāli as to give rise to the name of the holy text[1]. I wonder whether *Pāli-* has not been derived secondarily from *Pālibhāṣā*, that originally had another signification but afterwards was understood as 'the language of the canon'. Then we should go out not from *pāli-* but rather from *pālibhāṣā-*. And my suggestion is that this *pālibhāṣā-*represents a Prakritism for a Sanskrit word **pāribhāṣā-*. I consider this to be a *vṛddhi*-derivation from *paribhāṣā* 'teaching, rule, definition': **paribhāṣā*, or better its Prakritised from *palibhāṣā*[2] meant then 'referring to the rules' and more particularly, because of the *-bhāṣā*-contained in it, '(the language) referring to the teachings and rules', '(the language) in which the teachings and rules of the faith are written', that is 'the language of the canon'. This led, as we already said, to the interpretation of the word as composed of *pāli*-and *bhāṣā-*, which provoked *pāli* to be understood as being the name of the canon itself. It is possible that the *vṛddhi*-derivation has taken place in Pāli, from a **palibhāṣā*-corresponding to Sanskrit *paribhāṣā-*.

(1) Childers' Dictionary has only a quotation in a compound from *Abhidhānappadīpikā* 539,996 : *avāsapāli vyādhānaṁ tadā asi nivesitā* 'a range of buildings was at the same time constructed for the king's huntsmen', and it is at least tempting to see in it a direct loan from Sanskrit. The same can be said of a long compound *samvaddhitucatuyāmantthararatthirapālikā* 'having lines or ridges etc' in the "later portion of the *Mahāvaṁsa*" (*Childers*).

(2) *pali-* for *pari-* also in *palibodho* 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment', *palibuddhati* 'to hinder', *palibuddhanam* 'hindering', *paligho* 'an iron beam or bar for fastening up a door; obstacle hindrance' (s. Childers). The last word is surely from *parigha-*; as to the other, they contain the proposition *pari*. Childers thinks that *palibodho* is from *parirodha-* + *paribādha-* or a dialectical variety of *paribādha-*: this is contradicted by *palibuddhati* and *palibuddhanam*, that point too a root *budh-*.

PRĀKRIT LANGUAGE AND KASHMIR SAIVISM

BY

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The *Mahārthamañjarī* of Maheśvarānanda[1] is an interesting text in seventyone *gāthās*. Obviously it is a composition of the *-saptati* or *-sattari* pattern, the title at times indicating the number of *gāthās*, of which the concluding verse is generally excluded in counting. The Prākrit text is accompanied by an exhaustive commentary in Sanskrit, *Parimala* by name, composed by the author himself. The suggestive verses with the elaborate commentary form a composite unit and deal with the philosophy of a Śaiva school styled here as Pratyabhijñā–Śāstra, Saṁvit-tantra and Auttarādvaita. This school had its origin in Kashmir, and one of the great authors of this *saṁpradāya* is Abhinavaguptācārya, the philosopher and author on poetics of the 10th century A. D. The author of the *Mahārthamañjarī* is very much indebted to him. His proficiency in poetics was due to his careful study of the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana* ; and his knowledge of the self to his following the path of Pratyabhijñā. His commentary *Parimala* reminds one of the style of Abhinavagupta ; it is rich in quotations ; and it fully propounds the various details of the doctrine.[2]

Maheśvarānanda is the son of Mādhava and a pupil of Mahāprakāśa, and he belonged to the Cola country. He does not mention any such details as would help us to fix up his date. From references to various works in the *Parimala* the specialists in this branch of study should be in a position to fix up his date more precisely. All that can be said at present is that he is later than Kṣemarāja (11th century A. D.) : how much later is still a problem.[3]

What is more interesting for our present study is that he has written this text in Prākrit, and further he gives reasons for his preferring Prākrit to Sanskrit. In the extreme South, as I have shown elsewhere, the study of Prākrits was taken up here and there. Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* was the chief grammar to be studied till Lakṣmīcandra and others wrote their commentaries on Trivikrama's grammar. The works of authors like Rāma Pāṇivāda,

1. Edited by T. GANAPATI SASTRI, Anantaśayana-Saskṛta-Granthāvali, 66, Trivandrum 1919.

2. See the Prefatory remarks in the above edition and also K.C. *Pandey: Abhinavagupta, an Historical and Philosophical Study*, Banaras 1935, pp. 158-9.

3. J. C. *Chatterji : Kashmir Shaivism*, Srinagar 1914.

Rudradāsa, Ghanaśyāma etc.[1] show how studiously the tradition of composing works in Prākrit was kept alive. What is true of Kerala might have been true of Coḷa as well.

The Prākrit dialect used by Maheśvarānanda is analysed below with a view to mark out certain broad tendencies; the references to the numbers of *gāthās* are given in round brackets. The use of *ḷ* for *l*, occasional retention of intervocalic *p*, use of *th* for *dh*, *cc* for *jj*, a conjuct for a nasal-and-consonant or vice versa, *vi* after an *anusvāra* and some other traits might have arisen out of the South Indian habits of writing Prākrits in some particular Dravidian script. The present or imperative 3rd p. sing. termination loses its *t*, leaving behind only the vowel: *mujjhae* (8) *hoi* (15), *gaṇhai* (63), so also in *kahio* (14), *gaa* (16); but *t* is softened into *d* in many other words: *bhūdāiṁ*, *mahuradaṁ* (25), *devadā* (48), *bhūdesuṁ* (57), and also in the Abl. sing. forms *kusumādo* (35), *gūḍhādo* (67): this shows that though the author would call his Prākrit dialect Māhārāṣṭrī, he is following basically the Prākrit grammar of Vararuci, and the elision of intervocalic consonants is not as rigorous and thorough as expected in Māhārāṣṭrī.

The composition of the *gāthās* clearly betrays that the author thinks and mentally drafts first in Sanskrit and then renders the same into Prākrit. This introduces a mechanical format and dialectal artificiality in the verses. A few typical words clearly indicate that the author has not much acquaintance with the genuine Prākrit idiom, but is working mainly with grammatical rules in converting Sanskrit words into Prākrit: to illustrate, *matta* (= *mātra* 2), *sottha* (= *svastha* 11), *Saisivo*(= *Sadāśivaḥ* 15), *savvaṇṇo* (= *sarvajñaḥ* 18), *maraha* (= *smarata* 36), *choḷaha* (= *ṣoḍaśa* 37), *dāvīsa* (v. 1. *bāvisa* = *dvāviṁśatiḥ*), *ekkadaha*(= *ekādaśa* 39), *kiyā*(= *kriyā* 50) etc.. As the text is not critically constituted, forms like *juttha* for *juddha*(= *yuddha*) etc. need not be taken seriously. On the whole, this form of the Prākrit dialect is very much of the same type as the one we find in the works of Rāma Pāṇivāda, Rudradāsa and others.

The question before us is why is it that Maheśvarānanda, who has a better command over Sanskrit language as seen from his commentary *Parimala* and who has before him the ideals of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, chose to write in Prākrit instead of Sanskrit. The answer is given by the author himself, and it is of special significance.

Following the traditional opinion, Maheśvarānanda says that Sanskrit is the original source of all other languages. Prākrit,

1. See my Introductions to the *Kaṁsavaho* of Rāma Pāṇivāda Bombay 1940, *Candralekhā* of Rudradāsa, Bombay 1945, and *Ānandasundarī* Ghanaśyāma, Banaras 1955.

though derived from Sanskrit, has an additional charm of its own, without leaving altogether that of the original. The scriptural objection that a corrupt (*i. e.*, anything other than Sanskrit) or a Mleccha language should not be employed has no relevancy in understanding the self. In realizing the self, any word, no matter in what language it is garbed, yields, like the Vedic syllables, one's desires in this as well as in the next world. Secondly, the Yoginī who appeared in dream used Prākrit in expressing herself. Thirdly, Mahāprakāśa, the author of *Ṛjuvimarśinī*, plainly says that this *saṁpradāya* has originated in Kashmir and is specially characterised by the use of Prākrit. Lastly, the Prākrit expressions have more potentiality than Sanskrit ones for varied meanings: to illustrate, *citta* can mean *citra* painting, *citta* mind and *cit* sentiency; *attha* can stand for *astra*,/ *āsthā* and *artha*. The passage in question being important is quoted fully below[1]:

संस्कृतं हि प्रकृतिरशेषस्य भाषान्तरस्य । तत्प्रकृतेः संस्कृतादुत्पन्नं प्राकृतमित्यनेन भाषान्तरात्मकविकृति-शिष्यवैदग्ध्यस्वीकारः, प्रकृतिसौष्ठवपरिचयापरित्यागश्चेत्युभयथा चमत्कारौचित्यमासूच्यते । ननु 'न म्लेच्छितवै नापभाषितवै', 'न म्लेच्छितव्यं यज्ञादौ' इति श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यां संस्कृतव्यतिरिक्तभाषा प्रयोज्यतायां प्रतिषिध्यते, अपभ्रंशात्मकत्वात् तस्याः । संस्कृतव्यतिरेकेणान्या सर्वापि भाषापभ्रंशः, 'शास्त्रेषु संस्कृतादन्यदपभ्रंशतयोच्यते' इत्युक्तत्वादिति चेत् । न । स्वात्मपरमेश्वरपरामर्शमपहायान्यत्र चमसचषालादिपर्यालोचने भ्रश्यत्पङ्किलस्थलस्खलितकुसुमकिसलयादिस्थानीयः शब्दोऽपभ्रंशः । अन्यादृशस्तु यत्किंचिद्भाषोपरूपितोऽपि मन्त्राक्षरवदत्यन्तसौष्ठवास्पदम् । यत्प्रयोगात् 'एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति' इति श्रुत्युपपादितां स्वर्गगुलजिन्हिकामुल्लङ्घ्य स्वपरामर्शाह्लादलक्षणो महोपयोग उपलभ्यत इत्यन्तर्विद्भिर्व्यवस्थाप्यमानत्वात् ।

स्वप्नसमयसाक्षात्कृताया योगिन्यास्तद्भाषैकपक्षपातित्वाच्च ।

किं च, अस्मदुपास्यविद्यानुसंधाने प्रायः प्राकृतस्यैवौचित्यञ्जृम्भते । यदुक्तमस्मत्परमगुरुभिः श्रीमदृजुविमर्शिन्याम् । 'इह हि विद्यायां त्रिष्वपि बीजेष्वनास्था तृतीयमस्ति संप्रदायस्य काश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात्, प्राकृतभाषाविशेषत्वाच्च यथासंप्रदायं व्यवहार इत्युपदेशः' इति ।

सूत्रेति । सूचनामात्रमेव ह्यर्थरहस्यानां गाथास्वालोक्यते । येन परिमलाह्वयस्य व्याख्याग्रन्थस्यावश्यंभावः । अन्यथा 'संतो हिअअपआसो' इत्यादौ सन्नित्यादेः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययोभयांशप्राबल्यानुसंधानाद् विमर्शपर्यवसायिनी तात्पर्यकाष्ठा कथंकारमवधार्येत । प्राकृतसूत्रेति सूत्राणां वैशिष्ट्योपन्यासेन संस्कृतादपि तत्तदनेकार्थतत्त्वसूचनसामर्थ्यमेषामस्तीत्यासूच्यते । तथा हि, 'चित्तं ण विहइ चित्तं' इत्यत्र चित्तं चित्तमित्यालेख्यान्तःकरण

1. The *Mahārtha-mañjari*, pp. 192-3

चैतन्यरूपमर्थत्रयं चित्तशब्देनोच्यते । एवं 'अत्थं एत्ताण सोमसुज्जाणं' इत्यत्र अत्रमास्था-मस्तमिति प्राग्व्याख्यानुगुण्याद् अत्थं इत्यनेनानेकार्थोऽभिधीयते । एवमन्यदप्यूह्यम् ।

That the Yoginī, who appeared in dream to the author and blessed him with inspiration to compose this *Mahārthamañjarī*, spoke in Prākrit is seen from the following verse :[1])

महाराष्ट्रभुवं भाषां प्रयुञ्जाना स्मितोत्तरम् ।
सभ संध्योचितां मुद्रां बध्नती हस्तपल्लवे ॥

The specification here means the standard Prākrit as understood by Daṇḍin and others. After it was accepted as a literary language the basic territorial affiliation was just in name only.

The third reason is of special importance. The Śaiva school to which the *Mahārthamañjarī* belongs had its origin in Kashmir and was characterised by the use of Prākrit language. As yet we are not aware of any other texts of Kashmir Śaivism in Prākrit. Obviously some investigation is needed in this direction. It is not without significance that the Tāntric Śaivism succeeded Buddhism in Kashmir some time in the 8th century A. D.[2]; so it is highly probable that certain popular Prākritic Mantras in rituals etc were inherited by Tāntric Śaivism, from Buddhistic sources[3].

Some evidence is available that certain Vajrayāna verses used and quoted in Tāntric literature were in Prākrit-Apabhraṁśa, indicating their popular character[4]. Further, for a pretty long time the popular mystic saints, both Jaina and Buddhist, used Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa as seen from the available literature.[5]

1. *Ibidem* p. 198.

2. See K.C. Pandey's work referred to above, pp. 85 ff.

3. The above explanation is quite in tune with the history of Tāntric practices. In this context Dr. B. BHATTACHARYA has observed thus : 'The origin of the Tantric Mantra thus can be traced through the successive stages of the Buddhist literature; when, however, we turn our attention to Hindu literature we are surprised to find that the Tāntric Mantras suddenly make their entry in the Hindu Tantric literature without showing even a faint trace of the earlier and crude stages of development. To our mind this seems to be a sufficient reason for believing the Hindu Māntric system to be later than the Buddhist Vajrayāna and for holding that they were incorporated into Hinduism bodily from Buddhism.' *Sādhanamāla*, II, G.O.S. XLI, Baroda 1928, Intro. p. lxviii.

4. *Sādhanamālā*, referred to above, pp. 371, 382, 383, 387, 460, 466, 481, 501. In some of them Yoginī is referred to.

5. We have the works of Authors like Yogīndu, Kāṇha, Saraha and others.

JAINA-BUDDHIST PARALLELS AS AN AUXILIARY TO THE ELUCIDATION OF EARLY BUDDHISM.

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The Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries, their religions originated in the same province (Bihar) and in the same social surroundings (Kshatriya class) and had the same goal: to show a way to salvation, independent of the rituals and the teachings of the Brāhmaṇas. It stands to reason that they should have much in common. The similarity and conformity between them with regard to their doctrines, their cult and the organisation of their communities are so great that even in ancient India Hindu writers have sometimes confounded them. The first European scholars who made a study of the two religions have sometimes mistaken one for the other, or expressed the opinion that the one might have come into being by way of a sectarian secession from the other. Professor Hermann Jacobi has definitely proved that this is not the case and that both religions have arisen independently. They were both anti-Brahminical movements, which owed their origin to similar ideas and forces. For it seems to be a peculiarity of the growth and development of religions that the tendencies of a period find their expression not only in one community but in several contending ones. Christianity arose in a period when the craving for salvation won its expression in such cults as that of Mithras, Isis, Dionysos, Attis and others. Luther's Reformation had its counterpart in those of Zwingli and Calvin. The renaissance of emotional Vaishnavism produced a whole galaxy of saints who proclaimed similar tenets.

The conformity that undoubtedly exists between Jainism and Buddhism may therefore help us to find a solution of many questions concerning the early history of Buddhism.

Most scholars of to-day share the belief held by T. W. Rhys Davids, H. Oldenberg and others that the Buddha was a man around whose charming and awe-inspiring personality a rich tissue of legends has been woven in the course of time. In some parts of the Pali Canon they find the proof for this opinion. They, therefore, think that the conception of the Theravādins and other sects who believe the Buddha to have been a human being who surpassed all others in wisdom and virtue was also the view of the earliest Buddhist community. In opposition to this some modern scholars have expressed the opinion that the ancient Buddhists already saw

in the Buddha a supernatural being, a king of gods, who was omniscient and never in bondage as advocated in some Mahāyāna texts. If we compare the doctrine which the ancient Jaina texts set forth about their Tīrthaṅkaras, we learn that they too considered them to be exalted human beings. This strongly supports the view that originally Buddhists also held a similar view and that the picture of the Buddha drawn by the oldest strata of the Pāli Tipiṭaka is correct and that the deification of the Buddha is a later accretion to the ancient teaching. A further parallel is that in Jainism as in Hīnayāna the number of the saviours is limited and that only one of them appears at one time, in contradistinction to the theory of the Mahāyānists that there are as many Buddhas as grains of sand in the Gaṅgā.

The elucidation of the gist of the Buddha's teaching has been one of the most discussed problems of exegesis. As most European Pāli scholars had only a limited number of texts at their disposal and disapproved the use of commentaries as being the products of a late scholasticism, they had entirely to depend upon their own faculty of combination, a very difficult endeavour, because many terms like *dharma*, *saṁskāra* and others are used with different meanings. When looking for points of contact with pre-Buddhist teachings which may help European savants to unravel the meaning of difficult passages, they naturally hit upon the doctrine of the Upaniṣads because these ancient sacred philosophical writings have had an enormous influence on Indian thought, and at least some of them were certainly produced at a time preceding that of the Buddha.

It was therefore inevitable that they should try to interpret the doctrine of the Buddha as a sort of Vedānta and believed that the Upanishadic conception of the universal *ātman* and the *brahman* lay behind the Buddha's teachings of *anātman* and *nirvāṇa*. This, of course, finds no corroboration in the texts, for in the whole Pāli Canon the doctrine of a permanent *ātman* is rejected, and the word "*brahman*" is never used in the sense of an ultimate reality underlying all worldly phenomena. In the rare passages which may perhaps refer to Vedāntic teachings, the latter are clearly repudiated; thus in the *Dīgha* 1, 1, 30 ff and the *Majjhima* 22 (vol. 1 p. 138), the doctrine "*so loko so attā, so pecca bhavissāmi nicco aviparināmadhammo, sassatisamam tath' eva ṭhassāmi*" is called an elaborate doctrine of fools (*paripūro bāladhammo*).. It, therefore, seems improbable that the Buddha derived his tenets from the Upaniṣads; and it is even doubtful if he knew much about them. The same holds good of Jainism. In the ancient Jaina texts there are only few references to Vedāntic teachings. We may therefore surmise that about 500 B.C. the Upanishadic pantheism was not of great importance in Bihar.

Rather than construing a fanciful Upnishadic Buddhism, it therefore seemed a more propitious way to consult the present-day Buddhists themselves about their interpretation of the Buddha's teachings. The best route of investigation was, therefore, to try to find out what the great commentators of the past thought to be the chief points of the doctrine, and then proceeding step by step from the known to the unknown in order to discover the threads which traverse the whole texture and connect the Buddhism of to-day and of the middle ages with that of the primeval community. By making use of this method Th. Stecherbatsky, O. Rosenberg and L. de la Vallée Poussin have established the fact that modern and ancient Hīnayāna Buddhism teach a radical pluralism : the empirical Self (*attâ*) as well as the world are the outcome of the interplay of a great number of *dharmas*. These *dharmas* are impermanent and impersonal forces that spring up according to certain laws in functional interdependence, and disappear after having accomplished their effect to be replaced by others.

That a pluralistic explanation of the world and the life of the individual was the predominant theory in Bihar about 500 B.C. is beyond doubt. For Jainism is also a pluralistic system. The difference between Jaina and Buddhist philosophy is this that the Jainism acknowledges a number of eternal substances, the permanent souls and the ever-changing matter (*pudgala*), while Buddhism as a philosophy of becoming knows of no permanent substances, but sees in soul and matter likewise only the momentary products of the combination of evanescent factors (*dharmas*). Antagonistic as these two world-views may be, they have one important point in common. They both ascribe to qualities like passion, ignorance, etc. a sort of substantiality, in so far as they are not only conditions of the mind but have a reality of their own, independent of the individual. In this respect the Jaina doctrine of the *karma-prakṛtis* has a certain similarity with the Buddhist theory of the *dharmas*. Both these conceptions endeavour to explain how the individual depends on the *karma* produced in former existence. As I have tried to show[1], the idea that qualities are realities that have an existence in themselves is very common in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. So it is said in the *Atharva-Veda* 8, 6, 26 that childlessness and other ills are attached to an enemy like a garland, and in *A.V.* 6,42,1, anger is untied from the heart like a string from a bow; according to *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 4,2,4,10 glory is put into a man, in 2,6,2,12 death falls from a man who has become immortal like a gourd from a branch etc. In the

1. H. von Glasenapp, Der *Ursprung der buddhistischen Dharmatheorie (The Origin of the Buddhist Dharma-Theory)* in "*Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde der Morgenlandes*" Vol 46 (1939) p. 242 f. *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens (Stages of Development of Indian Thought)* Halle 1940 p 10 f, 67 f

Atharva-Veda 11,8 a whole catalogue of qualities is given which enter the body of man in the form of deities. The *karma-prakṛties* of the Jains and the *karmas* of the Buddhists are, to my mind, philosophically refined and sublimated developments of the ancient view that all sorts of qualities are independent potencies or fluids which may enter a man or be driven out of him with the help of magic manipulations. Whether my theory may find acceptance or not, there is no doubt that about 500 B.C. there is abundant evidence of the existence of pluralistic systems in Bihar; we may mention in this respect also the doctrines of materialists, scepticists, Ājīvikas etc; but there is very little material from which we may surmise that Upanishadic monks had a strong position in the country. This supports the view that the Buddha also taught pluralism. I am not dealing here with the question of Sāṅkhya influence on Buddha's teaching because the name of this system is never mentioned in the old Buddhist texts, and it is therefore doubtful if the Buddha knew it. If the Sāṅkhya was already in existence at this time, which is by no means certain, it must have taught a form of Vedantic pan-en-theism, as in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*[1] and the *Gītā*; the classical Sāṅkhya which teaches an infinite number of souls (*puruṣa*) came into existence later, when Buddhism and Jainism had made pluralism and atheism fashionable.

It has been said that the philosophical speculations on the *dharmas*, the *pratītya-samutpāda*, the rejection of the theory of a permanent *ātman* and the establishment of the highest goal (*nirvāṇa*) which is not described in concrete terms as a state of heavenly bliss or eternal life, but only defined in a negative manner, may not have had much attraction for the masses. The great success the preaching of the Buddha had from the beginning seems to lead to the hypothesis that his original teaching was much simpler and that all these metaphysical concepts were a product of later times when scholasticism overgrew the simple message of the founder. The idea behind this supposition is that all religions must have had the same form of development as Christianity, Islam, etc; the original preaching of the founder was simple and unphilosophical, easily comprehensible by simple folk. It was only in the course of time that elaborate metaphysics came into being, when these religions had won adherents among the intellectuals. But neither Buddhism nor Jainism were, in their beginnings, systems intended for the masses. The bulk of their adherents belonged to the upper classes, to the nobles and the rich merchants. The way in which Buddhism and Jainism spread was the very opposite of that of Western religions. They got a

1. In *Kaṭha-Upanishad* 4, 14 the Buddhist theory of *dharma* is already mentioned and a famous simile of the *Suttapitaka* is made use of. See my article in "*New Indian Antiquary*", May 1938, p. 138 ff.

hold first upon the educated classes and then percolated to the common man. It may be here recalled that the founders of the great Vaishṇava and Śaiva sects were very learned theologians and nevertheless won many followers among the lower classes. Should it therefore be necessary, out of this preconceived idea, to surmise a simple "primordial" Buddhism? The same would have to be done with Jainism and with many other Indian systems, the propounders of which taught elaborate philosophy.

Buddhism and Jainism both disavow the existence of an Īśvara who creates and rules the world; they merely acknowledge the existence of *karma*-born heavenly beings. They devote their highest religious emotions to the cult of saints who have no concern with the world. Released for ever from the trammels of sorrowful existence, they cannot reward the acts of worship offered to them by the pious. Hīnayānists and Jainas agree in this, believing that the cult of the saviours has but a beneficial effect on the purification of the heart of the worshipper. The idea that the Buddha is susceptible to the veneration shown to him and that he is able to save mankind by his benevolent grace is, therefore, to be considered as a later accretion when the original conception was superseded by new ideas.

So we see that in all the points mentioned here a comparison of Buddhism and Jainism strongly supports the view that ancient Buddhism was in its salient points more similar to that taught to-day in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Laos and Kamboja than to that of the Mahāyānic Far-Eastern countries.

I may add one remark which does not concern ancient Buddhism but its very opposite, viz. the latest phase which the creed underwent in India before its extinction. In the second half of the first millennium A. D. a new form of Buddhism arose, the so-called "Vajrayāna" (Diamond-Vehicle), which taught an elaborate system of ritual, introduced the worship of many female deities and demonic beings and inculcated even the performance of secret erotic rites. Most writers have referred to this so-called "Buddhist Tantrism" as it existed in Bengal and is still flourishing in Nepal and Tibet; but they have not tried to answer the question how such forms of belief could find their way into a religion that during its first thousand years had stood for asceticism and had maintained that women cannot reach the highest goal. I, therefore, have tried to show[1] that the Vajrayāna underwent a gradual develoment, and that we have to distinguish two elements therein,—Tantrism proper which dealt with ceremonies, rites, *mantras*, *maṇḍalas* etc. and

1. H. von Glasenapp "Entstehung des Vajrayāna" *ZDMG* 90 (1936) p. 340-72; see also my book "*Buddhistische Mysterien*" (Stuttgart, 1940)

Śaktism which spread the worship of famale deities. Buddhist Tantrism has its antecedents in the magic spells already given in the Pāli Canon and more fully developed in Mahāyāna Sūtras. Buddhist Śaktism had as its starting point the increasing reception of females into the pantheon. At the outset the ideas connected with the goddesses were quite unerotic ; it was only later that they were represented in sexual union with a god, and the idea arose that sacral cohabitation is a means for the attainment of *siddhis*. It is probable that the erotic cults represent the adaptation of very ancient rites prevalent in some parts of India, especially in Bengal.

That there existed elaborate Buddhist systems of *mantra-śāstra* and ritual in which eroticism is absent is proved by the existence of two important Buddhist sects, the Shingon and Tendal, both still flourshing in Japan, where they were introduced from China in the 9th century A. D. This form of Esotericism was brought to China from India by Indian scholars between 716-719 A. D. As Padmasambhava is said to have introduced Śaktist practices in Tibet at about the same time, it seems certain that at this period two forms of Tantrism were in existence, one still excluding erotic rites, the other accepting them. As the prince Śrīmitra, who came to China between 307-312 A. D., is said to have been the first who taught the doctrine of Dhāraṇis and Abhiṣekas in the Far East, we have here a starting point for the unerotic Vajrayāna ; it is probable that erotic practices found their place in Buddhist esotericism later on during the later centuries.

It is now remarkable that Jainism has also produced *mantra-śāstras* which taught all sorts of magic, but meat, wine and women were never introduced as the elements of Mantra rituals in Jaina works. Deities are never recommended to be meditated as in loving embraces of their consorts.[1]

It seems that in this respect, too, Jainism represents a parallel to Buddhism ; both religions developed Tantric systems without erotic rites. But whilst in Jainism the Mantra-śāstra has retained this form, the Buddhist Tantrists later on added teachings and rites of an erotic character and so departed from the original doctrine of the founder.

1. Dr. A.S. Altekar "*Mantra-Śāstra and Jainism*" publ. by the Jain Cultural Research Society, Benares Hindu University, Bulletin No 9 (no year) p 12.

THE STORY OF CITTA AND SAMBHŪTA

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The tale of Citta and Saṁbhūta related in Jātaka No. 498 and chapter 13 of the *Uttarājjhāya* is one of the most remarkable instances of the parallel treatment of one and the same legend in the old ascetic poetry of the Buddhists and Jainas.[1] It was first dealt with exhaustively by E. Leumann who, in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* vol V (1891), pp. 111 ff., included in his comparison also the prose version of the Jaina *kathānaka* literature. In vol. VI of the same journal he was able to trace Brahmanical versions of the same legend in the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. And lastly, J. Charpentier, in the commentary accompanying his edition of *Utt.*, made a new attempt at reconstructing the old ballad of which obviously both the *gāthās* of Jāt. No. 498 and *Utt.* 13 are remodellings and amplifications. It is the aim of the present paper to show that not only do his results stand in need of correction but perhaps the critical interpretation and comparison of the Jāt. *gāthās* and and the *Utt.* chapter can be carried a step further.

The bulk of both these texts consists of Triṣṭubh verses, and it might be worthwhile to examine at the outset all the non-Triṣṭubh stanzas with a view to ascertain whether they are "original" or whether there are grounds to justify the natural suspicion that they are secondary additions. That the Āryās, *Utt.* 1-3, are a later introduction is quite obvious and was recognized by Leumann as well as by Charpentier. The former also stated that probably the *ślokas*, *Utt.* 4-9, form a second introduction composed by the Jain redactor who, however, must have found at least one verse (No. 6) in the original, as it has a counterpart in *gāthā* 16 of the Jāt. We shall presently have to discuss this very important stanza in detail (p. 205) and shall therefore leave *Utt.* 4-9 aside for the moment. The *śloka*, *Utt.* 16, without counterpart in Jāt., is an oft quoted gnomic stanza (found *e. g.* in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* p. 105) and thus without doubt a later insertion. The only two remaining non-Upajātis of *Utt.*, *viz.* 28 and 29, were suspected by Leumann on the ground that the preceding and the following stanzas (27 and 30) correspond to two contiguous Jāt. *gāthās* (28,29). We may now add as further reasons for suspicion ; first the metre : v. 28 is a mixture of Āryā (1st line) and *śloka* (2nd line), v. 29 a *śloka* ; second the contents : these two stanzas bring in the typically Jaina *nidāna* motif which

1. Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* vol. II, p-145.

figures prominently in the Jaina prose *kathānaka* but is found neither in the *gāthās* nor in the prose of the Jāt.

The Jāt. has 21 Upajātis and 7 *ślokas*; at least five of the latter can safely be regarded as secondary additions or quotations from that vast store of "floating" stanzas and *pādas* which play such an important role in Jāt. poetry. *G*. 6: *yojentu ve rāja-rathe sukate citta-sibbane | kaccham nāgānam bandhatha, gīveyyam paṭimuñcatha*, is indeed not traceable elsewhere but has nothing specific to connect it with this particular Jāt., and moreover it is entirely superfluous as the king's order to make the preparations for his visit to the ascetic is repeated in the very next stanza (cf. *pāda* b: *sīghāni yānāni ca yojayantu !*); obviously this latter stanza (*g*. 7) alone is original. The *śloka g*. 9: *āsanam udakaṁ pajjaṁ paṭigaṇhātu no bhavaṁ*, etc., is an invitation formula that might be used anywhere and is actually found again as *g*. 3 of Jāt. No. 508; in Jāt. No. 498, it could easily be missed.[1] *G*. 6 and *g*. 9 are rejected by Charpentier as well; but *gg*. 12-14 are an even clearer case. In *g*. 11, the ascetic has stated that his knowledge of the *fruits of good and bad actions* makes him restrain himself; he wants neither a son nor cattle nor wealth; in *g*. 15, he reminds the king how they have both, *through their bad actions* (*sakehi kammehi supāpakehi*), lived through a former birth as Caṇḍālas. The close connection between these two Triṣṭubhs is awkwardly broken by the commonplace expatiations of the *ślokas* 12-14 on the short duration of human life and consequent advisability of indifference to worldly pleasures and wishes, etc. These three stanzas are palpably quotations; actually, 13-14 recur as *gg*. 115-116 of Jāt. No. 538. The insertion was no doubt made because the end of *g*. 11: *na patthaye puttaṁ pasuṁ dhanaṁ vā*, reminded the redactor of 13 b: *kiṁ me puttehi dārehi*.

Of the two remaining *ślokas*, *g*. 16 has already been mentioned and will presently be dealt with. *G*. 28 is the very last *gāthā* of the Jāt.; it is introduced by the text itself as something akin to a quotation, the ascetic teaching this stanza to the king and asking him to remember it and recite it in public whenever pride should seize him. It reminds him of his miserable condition (in his youth or in a former existence ?) and might be taken from an older version of this or from some other legend. Not only this *gāthā*, but also the preceding ones (25-27) have no counterpart in *Utt*.

As a matter of fact, it is only a small minority even of the Upajāti stanzas that is common to Jāt. and *Utt*., and only in a very few cases is there complete correspondence between two

1. If the *ca* of *g*. 10 a (*rammaṁ ca te āvasathaṁ karontu*) is to be taken as referring to the invitations of *g*. 9, it would merely mean that the quotation was made by the redactor of *g*. 10 himself.

stanzas; there are others which agree in one *pāda* only, while the rest is totally different. This can only be taken to mean that there was indeed an old poem in Upajāti metre which became the source of both the Jāt. and the *Utt.* ballad, but that both the Buddhist and the Jaina redactors, while keeping to the Upajāti metre, dealt with this old poem in the most arbitrary manner, feeling at liberty to make any number of alterations, additions and omissions. Under these circumstances, it is not quite so easy as Charpentier imagined to "piece together" out of *Utt.* XIII and Jāt. No. 498 "an accurate reproduction of the ancient legend". It will be wiser to be content with a critical comparison of the two versions. Before, however, we can attempt this comparison we shall now have to tackle the stanza *Utt.* v. 6 = Jāt. *g.* 16.

The latter version gives a short enumeration of the former births of Citta and Sambhūta: "We were Caṇḍālas in Avantī, deer on the (bank of the) Nerañjanā, sea-eagles on the bank of the Narmadā, and now we are (respectively) Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya." To this correspond actually not merely *Utt.* v. 6. but vv. 5-7, where the king relates to the ascetic a slightly different list of five former births, adding that this is their sixth rebirth, in which (for the first time) they have been separated from one another. Now the prose of the Jāt. as well as the Jaina prose *kathānaka* agree in making the whole story hinge on the familiar motif that the king, suddenly remembering his former births, tries to find his former brother by composing a verse (or verses) to which only that brother can find the completion or answer. According to the Jāt., *gg.* 1 and 2 are the king's test verses; *g.* 3 is the brothe'r answer. All three stanzas begin with the statement (*pādas* a and b) that every good action will bear its fruit and that no action is done without consequences; in *gg.* 1 and 2, the king boasts that his present splendour is due to his former *puṇya* and asks Citta whether he can say the same of himself. In *g.* 3, Citta answers in the affirmative. According to the Jaina *kathānaka*, the king's test verse consists of the half-*śloka*.

āsva dāsau mṛgau haṃsau mātaṅgau amarau tathā, which Citta completes by answering:

eṣā nau ṣaṣṭikā jātir anyonyābhyāṃ viyuktayoḥ, which exacly corresponds to the 2nd half of *Utt.* v. 7: *imā no chaṭṭhiyā jāī annamanneṇa jā vinā.*

If we compare the two versions represented by the Jāt. and the Jaina *kathānaka,* we cannot doubt for a moment that the latter is the original one. The only suitable, nay the only possible contents of the recognition stanza(s)—as is also borne out by the *Harivaṃśa* version, cf. *W. Z. K. M.* vol. 6 p. 3 f.—consist of a reference to an enumeration of the former births. And the most

natural, the most probable form of test verse and answer is the two hemistiches of one *śloka,* not two full Triṣṭubhs and a third Triṣṭubh. This is confirmed by the fact that *g.* 16 of the Jāt., too, gives the list of births in o n e stanza; the r e a l counterpart of *g.* 16 is not *Utt.* v. 6 but the Sanskrit stanza of the *kathānaka* ! Leumann as well as Charpentier took it for granted that the Jāt. preserves the original order of stanzas and that *Utt.* v. 6 "is wrongly placed".[1] We can now say with absolute certainty that on the contrary it is *g.* 16 that is "wrongly placed"; it ought to come at the very beginning instead of *gāthās* 1-3 which, as is shown by *Utt.*, actually form the beginning of the dialogue between Citta and Saṁbhūta. And the reason of the confusion created in the Jāt. is quite obvious. Jāt. No. 498 and *Utt.* 13 agree in making the monk, in the course of their conversation, remind the king of their common birth as Caṇḍālas in order to account for his refusal to accept the palaces and (according to Jāt) even share in the kingdom offered to him. To the later redactor, it seemed evident that this stanza, ending in Jāt. (*g.* 15) with the words *Caṇḍāla-gabbhe avasiṁha pubbe,* and the *śloka* beginning, *Caṇḍālâhumha Avantīsu* must belong together; so he inserted the *śloka* after *g.* 15 and substituted for it at its original place another question and answer of king and ascetic which ought to come much later after they have actually met.

Utt. 13, on the other hand, though preserving the original order, has made another and perhaps even more sweeping change. Following a tendency—observable in other chapters of *Utt.*, too—to make of the verses a self-contained ballad more or less independent of the old prose tale, he dispenses with the motif of test verse and answer as a means of finding the former brother, and amplifies the old *śloka* into an introductory and more detailed account of the former births given by the king to his brother a f t e r having found him. At a still later stage, the process of creating an independent ballad is carried to its conclusion by the prefixing of vv. 1-3 which give, in the Āryā metre characteristic of the latest layer of the canon, the briefest possible extract from the prose tale furnishing just the most indispensable frame for the ensuing dialogue.

Deliberate concentration on this dialogue, the inclusion into it of the account of the former births originally given in the prose

1. Charpentier gives a list of corresponding stanzas (in which he erroneously equates *Utt.* v. 6 with Jāt. *g.* 15 instead of 16, and *Utt.* v. 18 with Jāt. *g.* 16 instead of 15) and says: "From this comparison it is at once evident that v. 6 is wrongly placed, for otherwise the verses and the *gāthās* follow after each other in the same order, although there are other verses between them which are not related to each other." Leumann's reason, equally unconvincing, was that after *Utt.* v. 18, where (according to him) v. 6 ought to follow, follows actually a stanza declared unoriginal by him because it contains a repetition (partly verbatim) of v. 18, this repetition, he thought, to have been substituted for the v. 6. expunged.

tale, the omission of the motif of finding the brother by means of a test verse, further and logically also lead to the omission of the dialogue between king and messenger (Jāt. *gāthās* 4, 5) and the king's announcement of his intention to visit the ascetic (Jāt. *g.* 7).

Thus we have in *Utt.* two introductions representing two different later stages in the history of the text (vv. 1-3 having been prefixed *after* vv. 4-9), while the old "original" poem begins only with v. 10. In Jāt., the original order of stanzas must have been : *gg.* 16 ; 4, 5, [6], 7 ; 1-3 ; 8 ff.

Jāt. *gg.* 1-3 and Utt. vv. 9-10 agree most closely, partly verbatim, with each other ; yet neither text can be quite correct as it stands. The contents must undoubtedly be : (a) statement : every good action will bear its fruit ; there is no escape from *karman* ; (b) the king's boast : look how lucky I am through my *puṇya* in previous birth ; (c) his question : can you say the same of yourself ? (d) the monk's answer : I do see how lucky you are but I am just as lucky as you. This is what we actually read in *Utt.* ; but in the first part of (d) : *jāṇāhi Saṁbhūta mahāṇubhāgaṁ mahiḍḍhiyaṁ puṇṇa-phalovaveyaṁ* ; *jāṇāhi* does not make sense and must be corrected to *jāṇāmi.* This is confirmed by *g.* 1, c : *passāmi Saṃbhūtaṁ mahānubhāvaṁ,* which, however, does not make sense in *g.* 1, spoken by the king, and must therefore be corrected to *passāhi.* Moreover, the threefold repetition of the quartrain (a) as the first half of each of the *gāthās* 1-3 is not borne out by *Utt.* ; assuming it to be unoriginal, it is tempting to restore *g.* 3 as :
passāmi Saṁbhūtaṁ mahānubhāvaṁ | sakammanā puṇṇa-phalūpapannaṁ ; Cittaṁ pi jānāhi tath'eva, deva: | iddho mano tassa yathāpi tuyhaṁ.

After v. 11, there follows in *Utt.* the difficult stanza v. 12 corresponding to Jāt. *g.* 8. Referring the reader to Charpentier's remarks on it, I merely wish to add that it is not necessary to change *gāhāṇugīyā* into *gāhā sugīyā* on the strength of *g.* 8 : *gāthā sugītā* ; *gāhāṇugīyā* makes even better sense as the stanza is actually repeated (*anu-gītā*) in the king's palace hall by the messenger who had heard it sung by the ascetic.

There follows in both versions the king's invitation to the ascetic to share his worldly pleasures, Jāt. *g.* 10 being expanded into the two stanzas Utt. vv. 13-4. Utt. v. 15 forms a mere transition to the monk's answer such as would, in the old style, normally be given in prose ; it is not surprising that this stanza lacks a counterpart in Jāt. The monk's refusal is given in both versions in entirely different stanzas, some of which (cf. above) are commonplace quotations inserted subsequently ; but there is again a close correspondence and even partial identity when the

ascetic reminds his brother of the Caṇḍāla existence (*g.* 15 = *Utt.* v. 11).[1]

Utt. v. 19 is regarded as spurious by Leumann and Charpentier because it is nothing but a needless repetition of v. 18. There is no reason to dissent from this opinion; but why this needless repetition should have been composed and inserted remains inexplicable.

Utt. vv. 20-25 have no counterpart in Jāt. and should most probably, with Leumann, be regarded as a contribution of the Jain redactor. V. 26 corresponds to Jāt. *g.* 20, this latter stanza being only a slight modification of the three preceding stanzas (*gg.* 17-19) which are completely identical except the last word. Sequences of stanzas differing in one *pāda* or one word only are a common feature of Jātaka poetry. The question here is: has an original sequence of four stanzas (*gg.* 17-20) been condensed into the one stanza *Utt.* 26, or has, on the contrary, an original single stanza been expanded by introducing slight variations? Leumann, who believed Jāt. to be generally more faithful to the original than *Utt.*, decided in favour of the former alternative; but his arguments are not decisive and convincing, and the parallel case of *gg.* 1-3 versus *Utt.* vv. 10 ff. (see p. 206) would rather seem to point to the contrary. There are other cases within Jāt. poetry where a secondary expansion of a similar kind can be proved, and Leumann's opinion of the general superiority of Jāt. as against *Utt.* is hardly any longer tenable.

Jāt. *g.* 21 = *Utt.* v. 27 is the beginning of the king's answer to the monk's exhortations to renounce the world: "I know full well that what you say is true, but for men in my position it is hard to give up enjoyments." *Utt.* 27 a, b: *ahaṃ pi jāṇāmi jahēha sāhū jaṁ me tumaṁ sāhasi vakkam eyaṁ*, is justly criticised by Leumann as rather imperfect and unsatisfactory, but he fails to make the comparison with Jāt. *g.* 21. There we read: *addhā hi saccaṁ vacanaṁ tav'etaṁ yathā isi bhāsasi evaṁ etaṁ*. Now the *pāda addhā hi saccaṁ*...recurs also in Jāt. No. 491, 11 and No. 509, 6; but much nearer to the *Utt. pāda* is a variant occurring twice, Jāt. No. 483, 12 and No. 545, 234; *addhā pajanāmi ahaṁ pi etaṁ*. I consider it more than probable that *ahaṁ pi jāṇāmi* (where *pi* is logically superfluous!) is a distortion of an original *addhā pajāṇāmi*.

Utt. 27 c reads in our text: *bhogā ime sangakarā havanti*, "These enjoyments cause attachment", or, as Jacobi (*SBE* XLV

1. Charpentier reads *vasī ya sovāga-nivesaṇesu*. Leumann, on the strength of the Pali *avasiṁha*, had suggested an emendation *vasīma*. But we may just read *vasīya* and regard the form as one of those curious optatives in *īya* (cf. Pischel, *Prakrit Grammar* § 466) which are, according to the grammarians, used as indicatives of the past and have been traced by me in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (cf. *Bull. School of Or. Studies*, Vol. VIII p. 325).

p. 60) translates: "Pleasure will get a hold on men". What we miss in both these translations is an almost indispensable "but": "I know you are right, *b u t* pleasures..." Now Jāt. *g.* 21 c reads: *kāmā ca me santi anapparūpā*, and here *ca* must, of course, be translated (as so often in Pāli) by "but". And as in Prakrit orthography the *akṣara i* is commonly written for *ya* (and vice versa), there can be no doubt that we have to read *Utt.* v. 27 c as: *bhogā ya me saṅgakarā havanti*, "*but* worldly pleasures are for me..."

We have (see p. 202) recognized Utt. v. 28 f. as later interpolations. V. 30 is almost identical with *g.* 22 of the Jāt. The rest of the poem is totally different in the two versions except for, as Charpentier remarks, "a slight resemblance between v. 32 and *g.* 24." On the whole, *Utt.* vv. 31-35 and Jāt. *gg.* 23-28 must be taken as mutually independent contributions of the Jain and Buddhist redactors, and we can hardly say which conclusion of the poem is nearer to the original one. There is, however, one more *Utt.* Jāt. parallel noticed neither by Leumann nor by Charpentier. The latter observes on *Utt.* v. 31, *accei kālo taranti rāio*: "The metre of the first hemistich is not quite correct, but I do not know exactly how to amend it." This question is answered by the Pali *pāda accenti kālā tarayanti rattiyo*[1] which occurs not only in Jāt. No. 509, 24-26 but also *Saṁy. Nik.* I. p. 3 and pp. 62 ff.

1. *Rattiyo* is to be read as of two syllables like *rattyo*.

CHANGE OF SEX IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By Prof. P. V. Bapat, M. A. Ph. D., Delhi University.

In Vinaya-piṭaka iii. 35 (Oldenberg's ed., Pārājikā, 1.10.6), there is a mention of a change of sexual characters in a monk *aññatarassa bhikkhuno itthiliṅgaṁ pātubhūtaṁ.* The text adds that this change necessitated the removal of the monk from the Order of the Monks to that of the Nuns. But it is further said that this admission to the new Order of the Nuns need not be said to be an admission of an altogether new-comer. He should get the benefit of retaining the old Teacher (*ācariya*) as well of the spiritual preceptor (*upajjhāya*) So also he must get in the new Order of Nuns the same seniority which he enjoyed in the Order of Monks.[1] After this change of sex, he would be exempt from those offences which are not common to the nuns, i.e. the offences which are applicable to monks only. Later on, in the same text, is mentioned an opposite case of a nun being transformed into a monk and in this case, also, are repeated the same conditions of retaining the teacher and preceptor and the benefit of seniority as well as the exemption from offences which are peculiar to the nuns.

In another passage in Parivāra (4.10) of the same Vinaya text (v. 125), it is stated that this change involves the person, whose sex is changed into offences peculiar to the new sex and absolves him from the offences which are peculiar to the sex before the change.

Thus it is clear that the composers or compilers of the Vinaya text were aware of this phenomenon of change of sex and they had to make provision for such cases in their Book of Discipline. The belief in a similar phenomenon is also found in *Milinda-pañha* (267 ; Devanāgarī ed. p. 262) and in later books, both in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit.

The commentaries and sub-commentaries on the Vinaya passages mentioned above throw more light on this interesting problem. *Samanta-pāsādikā* i.274-77 (Cm. on Vin. iii. 35) gives a long passage on the same. It interprets the word *liṅga* in the sense of external and secondary sexual characteristics, such as beard, breasts, shape of limbs, voice, manner of walking, etc. It also speaks of the possibility of the original sex *pakati-liṅga* being

1. This passage is very wrongly translated by Miss Horner in her *Book of Discipline*, vol. i. p. 54, as she has failed to understand the gist of the whole passage.

restored. When this happens, the exemption from offences which he had won on account of the change in sex continues to remain in force. The commentary gives in its own way the explanation of such changes. The belief of these ancient Buddhists was that of the two sexes, the male sex is considered to be the better of the two and that it disappears on account of some powerful *evil* action and that the female sex appears on account of a very feeble good action. On the contrary, when the female sex disappears and the male sex appears, it means that the evil has become weaker and good actions have become more powerful. The commentary further adds that if such a change is noticed, even at night time, by the person in whom the transformation takes place, he should communicate the same to the other in whose company he is sleeping. The other mendicant should console him saying: "Does not matter! Don't worry! It is all inherent in worldly life. But a religious life is open to the nuns also, and the way to the heaven is not blocked to them." He should take that person to the residence of the nuns, to whom he or some other person in the know, is to explain the whole thing; nuns were then to be requested to admit 'him' to their residence. On admission to the new residence, 'he' would be subject to the rules applicable to the nuns. The commentary further gives details as to what possessions could be transferred to the person whose sex is changed and as to what offences could be dealt with by the new Saṅgha.

Atthasālinī (321-23; BORI ed 4.61-66), commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, the first book of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, also interprets the word *liṅga* in the sense of the secondary sexual characteristics, but adds that these are due to, and originate on account of, the primary sex-organ (*indriya*). This primary[1] sex-organ, the masculinity or the femininity, is determined by the past actions (*kamma*) of an individual at the very time when he is conceived into the womb of his mother, but the secondary sexual characteristics appear in active (*pavatta*) life, on account of the masculinity or femininity previously determined at the time of conception (*paṭisandhi*), exactly in the same way as a big and expansive tree arises from a seed. In the case of persons of the first *kalpa*, the sexual organ as well as the secondary sexual characteristics were produced in active life. But, later on, this masculinity or femininity was determined at the time of the conception. But, even then it is likely to change, or shift, in active life. And for this, as his authority, he quotes the same passage from the Vinaya which records the change in a monk or a nun. The author of this commentary also gives the same explanation for this change as is given by the *Samantapāsādikā* detailed above, namely, the powerfulness of evil action for a change into female sex, and the powerfulness of good action for a change into male sex.

Sārattha-dīpanī (Sinh. ed. i. 475-76), a sub-commentary on the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, says : "The outward visible marks of a man disappear and those of a woman appear. This means that we see the fruit disappearing or appearing, and we conclude that the cause also has disappeared or appeared. For, when the sexual organ of a man decays, the outward visible marks also disappear ; the sexual organ of a woman has appeared, so the visible marks also of a woman have appeared. Then the author, on the authority of a passage from the *Yamaka*, another text from the *Abhidhamma*, denies the possibility of two sexual organs in an individual at one and the same time. When, therefore, a change of sex appears in one span of life, it means that just seventeen thought-moments before the change of sex takes place, the former sex-organ ceases to function and the new commences to be effective." Then this author also supports the same belief as is mentioned above about the superiority of the male sex and its disappearance on account of powerful evil action. He explains that a person conceived as a man is likely to be transformed, in active life, into a woman, on account of some powerful evil action such as unfaithfulness to one's wife. On the contraiy, one who is born as a woman is likely to be transformed in active life into a man, when ths person's evil *karma* which led to the birth as a woman, becomes feeble and when at the same time the person is strengthened by good actions such as holy life, abstaining from evil actions, or if the peison entertains a strong aspiration for becoming a man.

Vimativinodanī (Sinh. ed., p. 131), another sub-commentary on the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, written by a south-Indian named Kassapa from Cola countiy, while commenting on the same passage, justifies the absence of a fresh ceremony of ordination and adds that when the marks of a man have disappeared and those of a woman have appeared, it means that the sexual oigan of a man has disappeared giving place to the female sexual organ.

While commenting on the *Parivāra* passage mentioned above at the beginning of this paper, *Samanta-pāsādikā* (vii. 1130 ; Sinh. ed. iv. 962) says that when a change of sex takes place in a monk or a nun who is asleep, offence of sleeping under the same roof with a person of opposite sex' does take place at the very time when the change takes place. For, when the monk is transformed into a a woman, then all his actions and external behaviour change, his bodily and vocal actions of a man cease, and he can no longer be called a 'monk' or a 'man'. And, therefore, he is now exempt from the 46 offences which are not common to the nuns, i.e. those which are peculiar to monks only. When the nun is transformed into a man, then the same remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, hold good in that case.

Thus all these passages in Vinaya literature explain this change of sex as being effected by *karma*, good or bad, or by a strongly-expressed aspiration for being a man. Now, in some philosophical texts like the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentary and in the realm of fiction, we find instances where we see the practical application of this theory.

In the *Dhammapada Commentary* (on *Dhammapada* 43), we have the story of a banker's son, Soreyya by name, who was immediately transformed into a woman as he had the thought, on seeing the golden body of the Elder Mahākaccāna, that his wife may have the same golden colour as that of the Elder. We are told that he had already two sons before this change and two more after this change., Later he was again restored to his original sex. When he was asked which of the children he loved more—those that were begotten by him as father, or those that were borne by him as mother, he replied in favour of the latter So this was the transformation into a female form on account of the evil *karma* of the evil thought.

In *Divyāvadāna* 173, we find another reason of the change. There we find that a woman named Rūpavatī was transformed into Rūpāvata as the result of *satyakriyā* truthful asseveration, which after all is a good *karma*. *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā* (Wogihara's ed. ii. 344. Cm on *Abhk.* iv. 56—iv. 55 according to Poussin —), while illustrating the *karma* which bears its fruit in this very life (*dṛṣṭa-dharma-phala-karma*) mentions the case of a Bhikṣu who was immediately turned into a woman as soon as he denounced the Saṅgha in these words: "You are all women (*striyo yūyam*)". There is another case, in the same passage, the case of a neuter person being changed into a man on account of a strong-willed aspiration (*tīvreṇa āśayena*). Such a change of sex is also mentioned elsewhere in the same book (*ibid.* ii. 429; Cm on iv. 105—iv. 103 according to Poussin).

The belief in such a change of sex is also found in Brahmanical literature. The story of *Śikhaṇḍin* in the *Mahābhārata* iii. 190-94, the story of Nārada becoming Nāradī (*Nārada-purāṇa*-80), the story of Manu's daughter Ila becoming Sudyumna, who in turn is also transformed into a woman (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9. 1. 22-39), 15th story (14th according to the Marathi translation published by B. L. Phatak) of *Vetālapañcaviṁśati* etc. are illustrations to the point. There are similar stories in Arabic and Greek literatures also. Fawney in his English translation of *Kathāsaritsāgara, the Ocean of Story*, vol. vii. p. 225, refers to an Arabic story in Fakhur- a collection of proverbs of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salāma—corresponding to the Buddhist story of Soreyya mentioned above, in which the person whose sex is changed has two children before the change and two after the change. In many such stories the change is

caused either by a favour or curse of a semi-divine being like a Yakṣa, or by taking a bath in, or a drink from, a lake, a spring, a well or a river, or by some device of putting a pellet in the mouth. Tawney also mentions in his *Ocean of Story* vii. p. 232 several cases of such changes mentioned by Greek authors, relying on the testimony of some eye-witnesses.

Now the question arises "Are all these stories about the change of sex merely fanciful, or have they any basis, which can be explained ?

We often read in news-papers of a man being changed into a woman, and of a woman being changed into man. The latest developments in the field of the science of sex are towards the belief that "sex is in great part of chemical and harmonal origin" and it is well known to surgeons that "the adrenals about two inches in length lying on the upper surface of the kidney may bring about a reversal in the external manifestation of sex".[1] It is reported that at Charing Cross Hospital, London, "there appeared a woman who began to show all the sexual characteristics of the male : hair on the face, alterations in bodily contour such as broadening of the shoulders relative to the hips, growth of muscles and bone, a coarsening of the skin, a deepening of voice, immature development of the sexual organs, under development of the breasts and an alteration in the psychological outlook towards men".[2] The record further continues : "An abdominal incision revealed an enlarged adrenal The abnormal portions of the adrenal were removed. This removed the source of harmones which were responsible for the alteration. In time, the hair on the face disappeared, the voice recovered its feminine tone and she developed into a normal woman [2]" This case shows a clear shift in secondary characters from a female towards the male and then again return to the original condition.

There are other cases of apparent change of sex. It often happens that at birth on account of malformation or immature development of the male sexual organ, an individual child is supposed to be a female and brought up as such. But in course of time, at the period of full maturity, there comes about a full development in that organ. Aided by a slight operation the child develops into a man. It is not unlikely that case of a nun transformed into a man referred to in the Vinaya may belong to this category.

Such a case of change from an apparent female into a male has been recorded in the *British Medical Journal*, Saturday, May

1. E. P. Herman, New York. *Two-sexed Individuals*. p. 173 of the *Journal of Family Welfare*, vol. i. No. 5 (July 1955).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

14th, 1955, pp. 1173-1177. It has been mentioned there as an illustration of Male Pseudo-Hermaphroditism. On the contrary, the same *Journal* describes in the same issue a little later, another case of Female Pseudo-Hermaphroditism. It is the case of one who was brought up as a boy, till the age of 16, when he developed breasts and began to have a periodical bleeding from a sinus in the perineum. Photographic illustrations of both these cases are given in that *Journal*. The case of a monk being transformed into a woman mentioned in the *Vinaya* may correspond to such a case.

But, we must remember that these are cases of a change in what may be *strictly* described as *secondary* sexual characteristics of a person, which may include even the external genetalia. For, even the latter are no sure index to the real sex of an individual. The fundamentals of a sex lie within an individual, which may or may not be seen. It is the testes in the male sex, the ovaries in the female sex, or a combination of both in a true hermaphrodite. When once these fundamentals, the gonads (the testes or ovaries), are established, it is they that determine the sex of an individual. They are not found to be changing after they are once established.

So when we speak about the change of sex, it must be taken to mean change in the external signs (*liṅga*, as the Pali texts say) which may include even external gemetalia, as well as breasts, hair on the face, voice, manner of walking and speaking etc., the growth, development and effective functioning of which are helped by certain harmones. The changes in these may take place on account of the preponderance of certain glands; as has been shown above, the adrenal glands, when enlarged, are found to be causing in a woman a shift towards the male sex. So also castration of males and females arrests the normal growth and brings in changes towards the opposite sex Harmonic treatment also helps the growth of male and female characteristics. Testostertone helps the growth of male characteristics, while œstrogens or ovarian secretions help the growth of female characteristics.

A human being is essentially a bi-sexual person and there are latent female characteristic marks in a man, and latent male characteristic marks in a woman and these latent marks sometimes strive for mastery.[1] This leads us to another allied interesting problem of bi-sexualism, on which also Buddhist books have something to say, and which we have given in another paper.[2]

Science has proved that deficiencies of certain harmones or abundance of others lead to certain abnormalities of growth and

1. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. ii. p. 312.
2. *Bi-sexualism in Buddhist literature*, submitted to the 18th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference (1955), Annamalainagar, South India.

behaviour in man and it is the harmones, therefore, that will affect the secondary sexual characteristics of an individual.

We may, therefore, say that when the Buddhist books speak of a sexual change in a Buddhist monk or a nun, they mean change in the secondary sexual characteristics, which include even the external genetalia. And this last change is often popularly interpreted as change in sex.

Section V

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

CONTRASTS IN FUNDAMENTAL POSTULATES:

MONOTHEISM OR HENOTHEISM? MIRACLES OR LAWS OF NATURE? HISTORY OR MYTHOLOGY?

BY

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The fundamental difference between Western and Indian religions lies in their divergent attitude towards the problem of 'Person'. In the West, in both its basic roots (Old Testament and Greek religion), 'Person' is a supreme and final value. In India, on the other hand, 'Person' is always viewed as of but relative significance, implying transitoriness and limitation. As such the appreciation of 'Person' is here never absolute and final. In this basic evaluation of 'Person' lies the essential difference between Indian and Western ideals. Apparent parallels between both centres of civilisation dissolve from this angle into a primary dissimilarity. What in the West is a permanent value, remains for ever of merely relative import in India.

From here, too, we can trace the fundamental difference between Western Monotheism and Indian Henotheism. It was a great achievement of Max Mueller's that he recognized Indian Henotheism as different from, and even contradictory to, Monotheism. *Monos* means 'unique', while *henos* (from *heis*, *hen*) means just 'One' at the time. At yet another moment, for yet another occasion or another sect, any other deity may take the place of the highest god. And even while the one is momentarily taken as the supreme, all other deities,—known or unknown—are recognized as existent and interchangeable in rank, while Monotheism excludes the possibility of other Gods. Indian Henotheism from Ṛgvedic times, and more so the theistic systems of the late Upaniṣads and the emotional sects of medieval *Bhakti* movements, extol a certain deity to the momentary supreme position of their *iṣṭa-devatā*. A certain deity is *iṣṭa*, selected or chosen, for the devotee's personal needs of the moment.

Here we come across another fundamental notion of India's theological presuppositions. Primarily all her gods are Nature-gods, representatives of certain vital physical functions: the Ṛgvedic Indra represents the fighting spirit on earth and in the atmosphere; (Indra is the conquering warrior on earth and the god

of thunderstorms who releases the heavenly waters after conquering the dreaded demon of drought). Sūrya or Savitar, the producer, is the representative of the creative and nourishing warmth of the sun. Vāyu or Vāta stands for the stimulating and drying-out energy of the winds, and Rudra—later identified with Śiva, is venerated with awe as the 'Howler', the destructive hurricane. In short, all the various natural forces are deified in a kind of Polytheism or a selective Pantheism. According to circumstance, the one who is for the present active either in a beneficent or an awe-inspiring way needs to be approached for placation, appeasement or gratitude for his gifts. The hypothesis of the Viennese Anthropologist Father W. Schmidt that all polytheism is a distortion of an original 'Urgott', original Monotheism, if indeed applicable anywhere, is no more to be found in the concepts of the early Indian Indra and other gods. In India later polytheistic trends are replaced by a unifying and supra-personal concept of the all-embracing *Brahman* (neuter). It is not an '*Urgott*', but an '*Ur-principle*', conceived later than the deified manifoldness True, as early as the Ṛgveda a unifying principle is postulated behind all the divergent divinized functions of Nature. This finds its expression -apart from, and probably earlier than Brahman,—in the Ṛgvedic notions of dual deities of interrelated functions, for instance Mitra and Varuṇa (two personifications of Light) or dual deities of nearly equal rank say Indra and Agni or Indra and Varuṇa, or else—more characteristic for the Indian way of thinking —all gods with their specific functions are united in the vague term of Viśve Devās, the All-Gods, named and unnamed. Already here the distinct and single importance of One God is swallowed up in a higher, while less limited, complex of divinity. Brahman, the later Vedic concept of the grand unique Neuter (formerly Neuter Plural), has survived and inspired throughout India's philosophic speculations. Brahman then stands supreme and truly unique beyond the distinction of male and female forms, beyond the distinction of beneficient and awe-inspiring forces, beyond the distinction of generation and destruction, beyond the distinction of Matter and Spirit. Here the principale is a Supra-Person. Only the 'It' is ever-lasting and constantly divine, timeless, spaceless and formless or rather All-Time, All-Form and All-Space in one. Brahman, from *bṛh*, to grow and to cause to grow, is the dynamic never-resting Life-Force.

Only from this angle, from the ideal of a Supra-Person, can one venture to understand the Indian predicates of the various *iṣṭa-devatās* and their inherent limitations.

The main postulate of the supreme God in all Western religions in His function as the Creator God. According to Western presuppositions this, His main function, is entirely an act of His own free will, His own preconceived purpose and His own freely

creative power. The Western God creates *ex nihilo*, out of the Nothing, a unique and ever-lasting world for the benefit of Man, His supreme creature. In India, on the other hand, the primeval Being dismembers himself, or is dismembered, in order that out of his own body, previously existent, parts shall be manifested in temporary single individual shapes. As such India never accepts the notion of a Creation *ex nihilo* nor a Creation for all times, nor a Creation for the sole benefit of a certain class of beings, say mankind. All earthly and atmostheric creation benefits in equal measure from this act of creation, or rather of emanation—the Indian term for 'creation' is *vi-sarga*, outflow. Man has no isolated superiority over all beings on earth, animal and plant, nor over other cosmic phenomena. Man-form, animal-form and atmospheric forms, e.g. sun, moon and rain, are interconnected, or even interchangeable, in the uninterrupted course of re-incorporation, i.e. transformation. Besides, Creation is here not assumed as unique; many worlds are taken for granted and held to exist both side by side and successively. The motive of creation, furthermore, is not a purposeful act, but a quasi-mechanical outflow (*vi-sarga*) from a previously existent vague mass (*purṇatva*, indistinct fulness) of the divine body. As such creation is termed *līlā*, play or display of forms emanating from, and reflowing into, the supra-personal reservoir. In India the creator-god is not of unique and all-determining importance. It is no accident, then, that in later Hinduism Brahma, an offshoot of Brahman, though called the 'Creator', has hardly ever been accorded a place of outstanding veneration. Very few temples, indeed, are dedicated to Brahmā, the Creator, However, innumerable temples are erected to the God *Śiva*, the god of destruction and inter-related creation. Siva is the true ancient Nature-God who, like Nature, destroys one form in creating another and generates a new form in his destructive function. Besides, as a true Nature-God, Śiva shows divine indifference during his acts of creation and destruction. He smiles unperturbedly, while trampling down in his cosmic dance formerly existent forms. He knows that they will again serve as a kind of manure for future outgrowth; Creation and Destruction are not unique, nor final, nor mutually exclusive stages.

It is true that Hinduism from the Middle Ages up to the present day has also erected many temples in honour of the God Viṣṇu whose main functions are more intellectual and less nature-like than those of the god Siva. *Viṣṇu* is accepted as the god of the sustenance of the world. Viṣṇu, a further development of one of the Ṛgvedic aspects of the Sun-God, has become in later Hinduism the second main god. Significantly, many aspects of his god-form are also semi-historical personalities, like Kṛṣṇa, the legendary shepherd or king. As such God Viṣṇu, the god of empirical maintenance and of certain empirical shapes, is bound,

like other personalities to periodical reincarnations, *avatāras*, descents. He is re-born as a boar which saves and uplifts the earth from the quagmire into which the demons had thrown it, or he is reborn as King Rāma, a semi-historical demi-god, or as a tortoise which supports and maintains the world, and it is he who as Kalkī, the white horse or the one on the white horse, will be the support and purifier of the present world before it is finally destroyed at the end of this world-period. In short, Viṣṇu, more than Śiva, is connected with certain empirical and distinct forms.

Many Western interpreters of Indian Theism are inclined to find parallels to the God Viṣṇu in Western religions. They cannot find analogies with Siva, the Mahā-deva, the great God, the main God of Indian theology Analogies with the Western concepts of God have some justification in the special character of Viṣṇu, bound as he is, to distinct personal forms Let us examine one of these Viṣṇu re-incarnations in the light of Western notions. Kalkī, the one on the white horse, is often likened to the Western Messiah, the final Saviour. First, it is not as a unique form, not as a human or supra human person, that the so-called Indian Messiah is expected to appear. Here we come across the typically Indian, and so un-Western, notion, that all worldly forms, man, animal or supra-human, are essentially of equal value and are equally suitable to represent the Divine. Secondly, it is only one world, a transitory one, that of our own period, which in India is assumed to receive the Messiah at the end of its existence. Others will follow, so the Indian claims, in other *Kalpas*, world-periods. Thirdly, Viṣṇu had already assumed appearances as a Saviour in former moments of urgency. Accordingly, Mahāyāna Buddhism and Jainism postulate that many Buddhas or Tīrthaṁkaras have existed in the past and will re-appear in the future. The uniqueness of a Messiah is here effaced by inserting him into all the three stages of Time, Past, Present and Future, and each of them will provide numerous occasions for his appearance.

The *Bhagavadgītā* proclaims that whenever the world is in need of a Saviour, Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa re-incarnates himself, in order to help the Good and to destroy the Evil. Western interpreters are ready to see here the Indian equivalent of the Messiah and the ideal of a Saviour. Yet even if it could be granted that the Messiah is here not unique, but one of a recurrent series of Saviours, how can one account for the fact that in later chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā* (ch. 10 and 11) the Saviour Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa declares himself as the *Airāvata* elephant among all elephants, as the highest Veda (Sāma) among all Vedas and—most embarrassing for the Western interpreter—as gambling among the fraudulent (*Bh. G.* 10, 36)? The Indian postulate of the momentary highest God and World-

redeemer is that he is the most powerful in all functions, whether ethically good or ethically bad or indifferent. It is dynamics which in this original Nature-religion counts most. Ethical distinction between Good and Bad is binding only for the lower spheres to which Man belongs. Already the perfected Yogin (see *Yoga-Sūtras* 4, 7) claims to be beyond the distinction between good and bad action. The Indian god is unquestionably conceded the right of distributing Good and Bad alike. Here the Western theological question, how God can be responsible also for the Evil, does not arise. Ethics belong to the sphere of human arbitration and limitation. Brahman, the Neuter, is more than all its representatives in personal god-forms, beyond Good and Evil; but even they for the sake of their supremacy may be considered as beyond these ethical distinctions. The Highest cannot be touched by the stains of Evil. As the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 5, 11 emphatically states, even the Sun, shining on pure and impure forms alike, is not affected and stained by the evil things to which his rays extend. He is for all times *bahis*, outside the range of Good and Evil. Both are but different aspects of the positive value which lies in dynamics, in the constant working of the life-force itself.

Closely related to these considerations are the different standpoints, taken in the West and India respectively, towards other predicates of the highest Divine. In Judaism, and in the religions which it influenced, another of the main divine predicates is that of the supreme Judge. A fundamental notion which pervades all Indian religions stands against this postulate. I mean the Indian *Karma* theory. *Karma* is not, it must be underlined against its Western interpreters, the law of justice, reward and punisment. *Karma-bīja*, *Karma*-seed, develops into its adequate *Karma-phala*, *Karma*-fruit. This is in no way a just retribution for good or evil deeds. The small seed develops and grows till it finally comes to its fruition. The fruit is always out of proportion to the former seed. No justice is here implied if one is much more punished or much more rewarded than the original deed requires. Justice is overstepped in the *Karma* theory. No god, not even in the theistic schools, can interfere with *Karma*. He only supervises, but cannot as a judge intervene. *Karma* takes its due unalterable course. No God can interfere with Nature's immovable laws. Brahman, the Highest beyond all personal gods, looks on indifferently.

From this angle we have to view India's attitude towards the postulate of divine miracles. In all Western religions miracles are accepted as an interference with natural laws brought about by divine or saintly persons. The miracle which Christ performs in feeding with a few loaves and fishes a crowd of thousands, and

still the loaves and fishes are not exhausted, is an interference with natural facts and experience. It is a miracle of social service. Also the miracles of healing and reviving people, apparently dead, are again postulates of social service. In the Old Testament the miracle of leading the 'Chosen People' through the waters of the Red Sea in which, immediately after their passing, the host of the Egyptian pursuers are drowned, is again a miracle that fulfils basic postulates of the religion in question: the saving of the 'Selected Ones'. In both these Western religious miracles claim the possibility of overstepping empirieal experience for the sake of realizing their respective fundamental principles.

How now are the so-called Indian miracles to be explained according to India's fundamental axioms? Here it is the basic law that Nature can in no way be interfered with. Accordingly, Hinduism and Buddhism propounded miracles only of a compassionate partnership between all beings. The Indian saint can tame with his loving eye the wild beast which attacks him. The Lord Buddha forces the wild elephant humbly to kneel before him without injury to him or his disciples. These miracles are based on India's fundamental axiom of an unbreakable relationship and mutual influence between all beings on earth, man and animal, and beyond. Even the god, the Indian God, cannot, as we have just stated, interfere with Nature's laws. He can only accelerate or retard them by his accumulated magic power. But never can he counteract natural laws. All the Indian legends of interchanging empirical shapes through the ascetic's will, are not, from the Indian point of view, an interference with natural laws; they are no miracles. The basic axiom here is that all forms on earth, or in heaven, are by nature interrelated and interchangeable. The rebirth in the sequence of incarnations freely moves from man to animal or to gods. Indian miracles only condense into one form of existence what would naturally happen in the course of the series of successive incorporations. Even if we hear that the perfected Yogin can, according to his will, leave his present form of existence and with his *sūkṣmaśarīra*, subtle body, can elevate himself momentarily from this gross body, and can return to it any time at will, this is for the Indian not against the axioms of Nature, not an unexpected miracle. For in the due course of his rebirth his subtle body is assumed to leave the present gross body behind and then chooses another gross body or, in this case, the same body for re-incorporation. Here again the natural course is not counteracted, but is only a normal event accelerated in time. Another Indian *siddhi*, magic perfection, is not actually a miracle, though often interpreted by the West as such. The perfected Yogin has the faculty, the divine faculty even on earth, of remembering or foretelling former or future existences which were, or are, due to him outside the range of

the momentary present. No miracle this, but again a consequence of India's basic assumption that all stages of time are interrelated and at least potentially present simultaneously. The initiated one is able to select any of the three stages at will. The West considers as either a miracle or a doubtful event that the Indian Yogin or god can attain insensibility towards pain lying on beds of nails, or being pierced by swords without feeling any injury and without the flowing of blood, or that he has the capacity of being buried or left starving for a long period without dying. All these so-called Yogic miracles can be explained as the result of centuries old training in controlling blood-circulation and breathing in a way miraculous to the West, but not to the experienced Yogin. Again these happenings are only the tapping of natural sources and resources, available to experts who have mastered the discipline. To conclude, miracles all over the world are postulates fulfilled, ideals realized beyond normal empirical experience. Miracles are thus the culmination of longings, visualized, nurtured and thus perfected, beyond the ordinary.

Mythology all over the world makes use of supra-natural phenomena and persons beyond ordinary empirical experience. The West is sceptical towards mythology,—allowing miracles only to be performed by the unique authority of God. India, on the other hand, concedes these gifts to any person of elevated rank. Indian Mythology, accordingly, is a quasi-pedagogic postulate. It stimulates the higher individual to reach beyond the limitations of human deficiency. Mythology here fulfils the longing for wider possibilities than those granted to ordinary mortals. Indian Mythology provides the field for higher potentialities. Here no scepticism debars the development and use of mythological possibilities. The enervating tropical climate induces easy tiredness and drowsiness for man, animal and plant; the elevated classes of gods or Yogins are able to overcome these frailties. The gods have no need to sleep nor to wink. They can keep their eyes ever open untired. The divine and regal ornaments, the flower-garlands around their bodies and heads never fade and need no renewal ; the metal flower-garlands of antiquity, e.g. in Ur, seemed to fulfil this postulate of never-fading embellishments, hence the general use -even to-day, of metal-crowns for kings. Mythology provides the symbols of permanence. Indian legends visualize giants of super-human height, of super-human vigour and super-human capacity of sense perceptions—all these are postulates and ideals which try to overstep the frailties of man's deficiency and limitation.

Even the world itself, a limited and transitory cosmic entity like individuals, is postulated to extend beyond single appearance in Time and Space. Many worlds are assumed to follow each

other in Time. Similarly Indian cosmology realizes infinite circles of concentric repetitions around their cosmic centre, the fabulous Mount *Meru.* Thus the frightening limitation of Space is also eliminated. It is not history with its single and distinct facts which gives Indian thought its standard of value, but it is the continuous supra-distinct flow of events which here provides the criterion for excellence. In the Christian belief Christ appears as both God and Man at a certain historical moment. As a development of Indian thought on the other hand, the Lord Buddha, as soon as he assumes a truly divine rank in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, is detached from his historical position and origin. In infinite periods of Time, past and future, the *Ādi-Buddha,* the primeval Buddha, takes a *kāya,* a body, anew for any historical appearance. Mythology is needed here to raise the historical personality to a devine status This is the fundamental difference between Western and Indian mythology: in India no claim is made that all the events in the life of the sublime person are historically correct facts; on the contrary, if they would be only single historical events, they would not be divine enough to express the Indian postulate of all-inclusiveness beyond Time and Space. *Christianity and all modern civilisation deifies history; Indian religions de-historize events in Time to give them the fulness of timelessness and as such, divinity.*

It is for the outsider an embarrassing difficulty that in Indian thought each personality of outstanding importance loses his biographical data and certainty. The greater the person, the vaguer his biography. *The different attitude towards History and Person in the West and the East respectively provides different evaluations. History is an asset for the West, a limitation for India.*

The West in all its aspirations, empirical and metaphysical, is spell-bound and fascinated by its own postulate of selection, arbitration and exclusive singleness. As such, in the religious sphere also, the West thinks in terms of progressive evolution and thus discards the lower rung as soon as it reaches a higher. India in all spheres of thought adheres to an opposite ideal. Here it is never selection, never exclusion, never high-handed elimination, but it is co-existence of divergent developments which is unpretentiously acknowledged and accepted. This also finds its expression in India's religious toleration of ancient materialistic representations alongside with new and more spiritual conceptions. Western interpreters are horrified at Hindu idolatry, the worship of crude images side by side with loftier and more spiritual symbols of divinity. How, then, can low and high forms of divine worship stand together on almost the same level? India has a more humble and, perhaps a more mature, outlook on the Divine. No single form of its veneration, not even a lofty one, is sufficient and all-

embracing enough to comprehend the *Summum*. All the various forms are but groping attempts to circumscribe the for-ever elusive infinite Life-Force. India, out of her humble acknowledgement that the one and only goal of purest spirituality is not to be obtained within the limitations of any form, allows, and even favours, yet another gross material approach in the hope of thus gaining through quantity more facets of the essential qualiry. Accordingly, Hinduism does not aspire to be a single true religion. It is content to be a complex of religions, i.e. with many approaches which in their accumulation intensify religious fervour.

The West thinks preferably in progression, in one vertical line of evolution ; India believes in cycles, or rather in a spiral, which, though remaining for a long while on the same empirical plane of wide expansion, gradually rises to the Highest, to the nearest circumference of the Zenith point.

The same symbol of a spiral can be applied to India's cosmology of emanation from the Oneness to the manifoldness of relative empirical values ; only here the tapering point of the spiral lies in the opposite direction, at the bottom. World-emanation enlarges in ever-widening circumference, till the manifoldness of the empirical world is fully extended, so that the reverse process can now start again, back to the re-absorption point.

India's ideal is *pūrṇatva*, all-inclusive fulness, or ***samatva***, equipoise, which balances and nullifies singleness and distinction. 'Person' thus in its individual characteristics can never here remain the final value and goal. Monotheism thus must be excluded, while Heno-theism is admissible as a yet preliminary expression of the supra-personal principle *Brahman*.

HUMAN EFFORT VERSUS GOD'S EFFORT IN THE EARLY NYĀYA (*NS.* 4. 1. 19-21)

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It[1] has often seemed to me that the teachings of the early Nyāya might better be called a philosophy of man than an exposition of logic. Certainly the greater part of the *Nyāyasūtra* deals with human problems rather than logical ones: with man's senses, mind and soul; with the means of knowledge he may use and how he may best use them. Again, the method of dealing with these subjects, as the Naiyāyikas themselves admit, is prevailingly that of perception and experience (*pratyakṣa*) rather than that of logic (*anumāna*). It is one of these non-logical problems of the early Nyāya that I wish to discuss in this contribution in honour of Dr. Belvalkar, for I think that he will prefer a human problem to the dryer matter of logic for which the Nyāya later became famous.

Among the beliefs concerning man which are essential in the old Nyāya is a belief in the efficacy of human effort. Nothing is allowed to interfere with this basic belief. Any statement which involves *karmavaiphalyaprasaṅga* (the implication that one's actions could be without result) or *akṛtābhyāgamaprasaṅga* (the implication of one's gaining a result without having worked for it) is *ipso facto* wrong[2].

This belief, set in more modest bounds, is common in India. Thus, it is generally conceded that the particular body one inhabits and the faculties it possesses are based on the human effort one has exerted in past lives. Some schools also agree with the old Nyāya in pointing out that the composition of the human body is designed in such a fashion as best to serve human purposes. The way in

1. In the following notes references to the *Nyāyasūtra (NS)*, Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya (Ny. Bh.)*, Uddyotakara's *Vārtika (Ny. Vārt.)*, and Vācaspati Miśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā (Ny. Vārt. TT)* are given first by *sūtra* numbers and second by page and line of the edition of Amarendramohan Tarkatirtha *et al.* (*Nyāyadarśanam*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series Nos. 18 and 29, 1936, 1944).

References to Śaṁkara's *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya (Śaṁk. Bsbh.)* are by *sūtra* number and by page of the edition of Dhūpkar and Bākre, containing the commentaries *Ratnaprabhā*, *Bhāmatī* and *Nyāyanirṇaya*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1940

2. The second of these terms is used in *NS* 3. 2.72 (916.6). **Both terms are frequently used in *Ny. Bh.*, e. g. 3,2.38 (874.2); 4.1.10 (922.5); 4.1.63 (1029.7). The first is also called *kṛtahāna* 4.1.10 (932.5), *kṛtanāśa Ny. Vārt.* 4.1.10 (932.10), and *kṛtalopa*. None of these terms appears in *PW*, but they are neither rare nor limited to Nyāya works. See *Śaṁk. Bsbh.* 2.1.36 (40 .6); also Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra-bhāṣya* 2.52 (*Bibl. Ind.* Work No.9159, Calcutta 1903, p. 64, lines 4-6).**

which the senses are distributed, even the physical construction of the senses, is to this end.[1]

But the early Nyāya goes farther than this. Outside the human body matter is said to consist of atoms arranged into various composites. The composites, and much argument is devoted to the proof of this, are just as real as the component elements. Now, the reason why matter is composed precisely as it is, is just the same reason as that which determines the composition of the human body. It is so arranged as a result of human effort exerted in ths past and so exerted in order best to serve the future purposes of man: his enjoyment, his knowledge, and ultimately his release.[2]

This anthropocentric theory was not without opposition, apparently, even in the days of the *Nyāyasūtra*. For the *Nyāyasūtra*, although it refers to scripture for authority in only one passage, specifically asserts the trustworthiness of the Vedas[3]. Now, in the Veda there is frequent mention of gods and occasional mention even of what must be translated in the singular and with a capital G. How can the anthropocentric theory of the Nyāya be harmonized with the presence of God? This question is raised in the Fourth Book of the *Nyāyasūtra* in a passage of great interest. The passage is differently interpreted by each of the successive commentators: Vātsyāyana (? 3rd. cent. A.D.)[4], Uddyotakara (7th. cent.), and Vācaspati Miśra (9th. or 10th. cent.)[5]. The general movement of Nyāya opinion throughout this period may be judged from one observation: the later the commentator the greater the importance which he assigns to God and the more he restricts the anthropocentrism of the *sūtras*. In view of this

1. See *Śaṅk. Bsbh.* 2.2.1 (414.2ff.), and Bhāskara p. 110.4ff. (*Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam Srī-Bhāskarācāryapraṇītam*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1903-1915).

2. *Ny. Bh.* 3.1.39 (767. 6ff.).

3. *NS* 3.1.31 (756.1) refers to scripture as authority for the quinquelemental nature of the body. *Ny. Bh* lists *RV* 10.16.3 and *Śatapatha Br.* 11.8.4.6 as the references intended. The *sutras* establishing the trustworthiness of the Veda are 2.1.58-67. In *Ny. Bh.* quotations of *śruti* and *smṛti* are not infrequent, e. g. 2.1.57 (547.5 and 7), 4.1.59 (1018.6-8, 1022-24 passim), 4.1.61 (1025.4ff.). But the number of quotations increases perceptibly in Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra.

4. This date is a guess, based on two facts. Vātsyāyana, though he refers with considerable knowledge to Śūnyavāda doctrine, never refers, so far as I can judge, to doctrines peculiar to the Yogācāra. Again, as Gaṅgānātha Jhā noticed (*Gautama's Nyāyasūtrs*, Poona Oriental Series No. 59, 1939, Introduction xiv, where the author comes to a similar estimate of date), Vātsyāyana's style gives an undeniably archaic impression. But the question demands more precise data than have been given.

5. As is well known, VM wrote his *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* in a year which he gives as 898. If we interpret the year as Saṁvat, as has generally been done, this corresponds A. D. 841. But Paul Hacker has recently furnished reasons which make the Śaka era likely, giving the date A.D. 976. See Hacker's contribution, *Jayantabhaṭṭa and Vācaspatimiśra* in *Festschrift Walter Schubring*, Hamburg, 1951, pp. 160-169.

tendency we may be prepared to consider the possibility that even the first commentator, Vātsyāyana, is more theistic than was the intention of the *sūtras* themselves. But the proof of this fact lies in the context in which the argument is found.

The *Nyāyasūtra* is a very carefully arranged work. It begins with lists of its subject matter, then defines each item separately, and finally examines each item in detail. The pattern of the third and fourth books is that they furnish detailed explanations of the *prameyas* (objects of knowledge), which have been listed in 1.1.9. The explanations follow precisely the order of that list: the soul 3.1.1-26 ; the body 3.1.27-31 ; the senses 3.1.32-61 ; sense-objects 3.1.62-73 ; cognition 3.2.1-55 ; the *manas* 3.2.56-59 ; activity 4.1.1 ; defects 4.1.2-9 ; rebirth 4.1.10-13 ; achievement (*phala*) 4.1.44-54 ; pain 4.1.55-58 ; release 4 1.59-68. Within this vast section of the work there are only two digressions : a small section at the end of Book Three (3.2.60-72) appending some further discussion on the subject of the body, and a large section in Book Four (4.1.14-43) dealing with a number of heterodox objections. Even within this section on heterodoxy a very particular order is followed, as will be seen from the resumè below. I omit particulars on 4.1.19-21, not wishing to state my conclusion before its proof.

4.1.14, Buddhist doctrine : existence comes from non-existence. 4.1.15-19, refutation.

4.1.19-21.

4.1.22, Svabhāvavāda : things come into existence without any cause at all. 4.1.23-24, refutation.

4.1.25, Buddhist doctrine : all things are evanescent. 4.1.26-28, refutation.

4.1.29 Bhautikavāda : all things are essentially eternal. 4.1.30-33, refutation.

4.1.34, Buddhist doctrine : all things are separate. 4.1.35-36, refutation.

4.1.37, Buddhist Śūnyavāda : all things are non-existent. 4.1.38-40, refutation.[1]

Context requires, and given the nature of the text the requirement is imperative, that 4.1.19 should be a heterodox theory and that 4.1.20-21 should give the Nyāya refutation thereof. Proceeding on this basis we may translate the *sūtras*, taking the words in their natural meaning and disregarding the interpretations of the commentators. Thus,[2]

1. I do not understand 4.1.41-43. My impression is that the commentators are in a similar predicament.

2. The Sanskrit is as follows : *Iśvaraḥ kāraṇaṃ puruṣakarmāphalyadarśanāt* /19/ *Na puruṣakarmābhāve phalāniṣpatteḥ* /20/ *Tatkāritatvād ahetuḥ*/21/

4. 1. 19 : [Some say] God is the cause [of the universe], because we see that human effort fails of its goal.

4. 1. 20 : [Refutation] No, for without human effort one can achieve no goal at all.

4. 1. 21 : [And] since God is caused to act by human effort, that [which you have given as a reason in 4. 1. 19] is not a reason.

Unfortunately, the last of these *sūtras* is extremely ambiguous. The words which I have translated as 'God' and 'human effort, are the understood subject and pronoun respectively. As we shall see the sense can be reversed by shifting the antecedents.

The first commentator shows the theistic tendency at work. Vātsyāyana interprets as follows :—

4. 1. 19 : God *is* the cause of the universe, because we see that human effort fails of its goal.

4. 1. 20 : One might object that this is wrong, for without human effort one can achieve no goal at all ;

4. 1. 21 : But human effort is rendered effective by God. Accordingly, that which has been objected in 4. 1. 20 is not a reason of renouncing our doctrine as given in 4. 1. 19

This is a bold aboutface (volte face)[1]. But Vātsyāyana is ancient enough in the history of the school to qualify his theism in important respects, as may be seen from the passage on 4. 1. 21 in which he discusses the nature of God.

God, says Vātsyāyana, is a soul different from us, possessed of perfect righteousness (*dharma*), knowledge and concentration (*samādhi*), and of the attributes of divinity such as the magic powers of decreasing and increasing his size. He has gained these powers as a result of his righteousness and concentration. God acts upon the *karmic* accumulation of each of us as well as upon the gross elements of the universe. Accordingly, his omnipotence is limited by the fact that each of us must receive the results of our former action. Furthermore, this omnipotence [if one should really grant it such a title] is the result of the *karma* (that is, works) which God himself has accumulated. Finally it is said that all God's wishes are fulfilled and he acts toward us as a father toward his children.

One is tempted to say that Vātsyāyana's system could have done just as well without God. His God serves simply as an

1. One may perhaps see evidence that an earlier and natural exegesis has been tampered with in the words with which Vātsyāyana introduces 4.1.19 : *Athāpara āha*. These words can be used only to introduce the opinion of an opponent. But it is clear from what follows that Vātsyāyana takes 4.1.19 as a *siddhānta*. The only other explanation of *Athāpara āha* is to suppose some late scribe has repeated it here from the text of Vācaspati Miśra, who takes 4.1.19 as a *pūrvapakṣa* (see pp. 283-4 below).

executive to carry out the requirements of a human senate. This was to bother Uddyotakara some centuries later. Again, God is said to act like a father. But who ever heard of a father who in dealing with his children could not transcend their merits and demerits ? The one unarguable reason that Vātsyāyana offers for admitting God into the cosmos seems to be this : "And scripture tells us that God is a seer, a knower, and is omniscient."[1]

Whatever scripture tells us, one will grant that Vātsyāyana's remarks are confusing. God has won his divinity through the good works he has performed.[2] We must therefore suppose that there was a time when he was not God. This is another problem that was to bother Uddyotakara.

Uddyotakara in the seventh century follows the textual exegesis of Vātsyāyana, but he adds a long excursus at the end. The two chief objects of Uddyotakara's effort are to prove the existence of God and to refute the doctrines of causation held by atheistic schools (Sāṁkhya, Buddhists, early Mīmāṁsā). His proof of God's existence is important, for it is the first such proof offered in the Nyāya school. It is this, that before there can be any activity of the *pradhāna* (brute matter) or of the atoms or of *dharmādharmau*, (merit and demerit) these entities must be superintended or managed (*adhiṣṭhita*) by an intelligent cause.[3] Uddyotakara was probably the importer rather than the inventor of this argument ; it has the appearance of being borrowed from a more theistic school such as the pre-Śaṁkara Vedānta.[4] As altered by Vācaspati Miśra, however, the proof of God was to become a foundation stone of the later Nyāya.

Besides these principal efforts, Uddyotakara exerts himself to justify or correct the weakest parts of Vātsyāyana's statement Thus, as regards the problem of God's dependence on human *karma*, Uddyotakara argues as follows.[5] 'God has created the happiness and misery of men by making use of their merit and demerit. But he is not dependent *in propria persona* on this merit and demerit. He depends on it only for his creation of

1. *Ny. Bh.* 4.1.21 (944.' *āgamac ca draṣṭā boddhā sarvajñātā īśvara iti*.

2. *Ny. Bh.* 4.1.21 (944.1) : ....*dharmasamādhiphalam* ....*aiśvaryam.* 944.3 : ... *nirmāṇaprākāmyam īśvarasya svakṛtakarmaphalaṁ veditavyam.*

3. *Ny. Vārt.* 4.1.21 (945.12ff.).

4. The essense of the argument is set forth in *Brahmasūtra* 2.2.12, which is certainly far older than Uddyotakara. The general agreement of Śaṁkara (*Bsbh.* 435. 9ff.) and Bhāskara (114. 14ff.) in regard to the details of the argument shows that these too must go back at least to the lost Vṛttikāra, if not earlier. Indeed, it may be from this source that Praśastapāda (5th cent.) takes his concept of *brahma* giving to the atoms their first motion (*Praśastapādabhāṣya*, Kāśi Sanskrit Series, No. 3, pp. 19ff.)

5. *Ny. Vārt.* 4.1.21 (949)

human happiness and misery. Indeed, he has created the merit and demerit himself at an earlier stage by means of the attachments (*abhisaṁdhāna*) that human beings have formed in their earthly lives. These in turn are formed by means of the memory of pleasure and pain experienced in former human lives. At one stage or another each of these means is created by God.' This is essentially arguing in a circle and when a Buddhist asks how, according to this theory, God could have effected the first creation, for at that time there could have been no merit and demerit etc. for God to make use of, the answer comes promptly, but it is disappointing. We all of us admit, says Uddyotakara, that the world of transmigration has no beginning. Accordingly, there is no first creation of God.

The picture of God that we get from this argument is of an omnipotent being who is necessary as the actor at each stage of human development. The precise nature of each development is regulated by human effort, but the entity which brings about the development is always God.

In taking up the question of God's eternity Uddyotakara's theism is far more pronounced than Vātsyāyana's. It is wrong, he says, to suppose that God's divinity is the result of his former good works.[1] God has no *karma* in the sense in which a human soul has his *karma*. What we describe as God's righteousness (*dharma*) is simply the way in which he works upon *us*; it is not a determinant of *his* divinity or everlastingness. This particular theory seems to me to break decisively with the old Nyāya system. God has been freed from the principle of causation which regulates all the rest of the universe.

Finally, in Uddyotakara we may notice an increasing tendency to quote scripture in order to justify theology. The school still insists on the directive influence of human effort, but it can no longer be called anthropocentric in the sense of the early Nyāya.

When one comes to Vācaspati Miśra, the first glance at his commentary seems to promise an innovation. Vācaspati saw clearly enough, perhaps on the grounds that I have noticed above (pp. 230-1), that 4. 1. 19 must be a *pūrvapakṣa*. However, as one reads his comments through, one finds that he had no intention of drawing unorthodox conclusions from this insight. He preserved the general tenor of the Bhāṣyakāra and Vārtikakāra by resorting to an impossible interpretation of the word *kāraṇa* (cause) in 4. 1. 19, which he takes to mean *upādāna* (material cause). The *sūtra* thus bocomes a Vedāntic objection and Vācaspati interprets the whole section as follows.

1. *Ny. Vārt.* 4.1.21 (950.17-18): *yo dharma īśvare nāsau tatraiśvaryam karoti.*

4. 1. 19 : [Vedāntin] God is the material cause, because we see that human effort fails of its goal.[1]

4. 1. 20 : [Refutation] No, for without human effort one can achieve no goal at all.

4. 1. 21 : [Siddhānta] This [viz. the reason adduced in the last *sūtra*] is not a reason [for refuting the argument that God together with human effort is the cause, but *is* a reason for refuting the argument that God is independent of human effort], because human effort is rendered effective by God.

In the realm of Nyāya theology Vācaspati Miśra is more of a perfector than an innovator. He alters Uddyotakara's proof of God, making use of a brief suggestion at the end of the earlier author's comment.[2] God's existence is to be proved from the necessity of assigning a cause to objects in the world whose cause is otherwise inconceivable. This argument is then thrown into a syllogistic form and defended from a number of criticisms. Beyond this, Vācaspati makes it very certain that God is only one, where Uddyotakara seemed to leave the door open to polytheism.[3] And Vācaspati takes pains to insist on God's mercy. One can assign no other cause than mercy for why God should act at all, for all God's own purposes must surely have been attained if he is to be God.[4]

The *sūtras* and the commentaries upon them which I have discussed above were subjected some years ago to a detailed scrutiny by Hermann Jacobi.[5] But Jacobi did not suggest departing from Vātsyāyana's interpretation of the basic *sūtras*. This seems to me quite necessary. The proof is that of context, but there is much that may be used in corroboration. God is mentioned nowhere else in the *Nyāyasūtra* but in this one passage.

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1. Vācaspati seems undisturbed by the fact that such an argument would be senseless from a Vedāntin or any one else.

2. *Ny. Vārt.* 4.1.21 (957.11) Jacobi supposes this to be an insertion. If so, we must grant Vācaspati a larger share of originality. See Hermann Jacobi, *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, Bonn u. Leipzig 1923, p. 92 n. 1.

3. *Ny. Vārt. TT.* 4.1.21 (951.22ff.). In *Ny. Vārt.* 4.1.21 (950.15) Uddyotakara offers, but in the mouth of an opponent, an argument against polytheism, namely that the will of many gods if exerted toward the same object would be nullified and no action would ensue. This argument is similar enough for one to suspect borrowing from Vyāsa's *Yogabhāṣya* on 1.24 (*Pātañjalayogasūtrāṇi* with Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya* and Vācaspati Miśra's *Ṭīkā*, Anandasrama Sanskrit Series No. 47, Poona 1904, p 29, line 1ff.). Later (*Ny. Vārt.* 4.1.21 (952.5-7), furnishing his own opinion, Uddyotakara says that one cannot infer the unity of God from the unity of his property (eternal wisdom), there being no universal concomitance between unity of property and unity of substance.

4. *Ny. Vārt. TT.* 4.1.21 (944.17-21).

5. In the work referred to note 2 above.

Now, an argument can be made from silence, if it is made cautiously. The implication here is that the Sūtrakāra felt God unimportant to the main subject he had in hand,—the philosophy. of man. For this subject the necessary knowledge could be gained chiefly from an analysis of man, his senses, his intellectual powers and his soul. It is this analysis which forms the heart of the *Nyāyasūtra* and to it are attached the minor teachings on logic and metaphysics. This is not to say that the Sūtrakāra denied the existence of God. Far from it. Had he done so, one might expect a formal disproof in the *sūtras*, as there was in contemporary Buddhist works.

Thus the *Nyāyasūtra* seems to me to fall between two extremes. It is neither theistic nor atheistic. It admits the existence of God, denies his being a primary cause and does not care to argue the matter further. This position is considerably removed from that of the later Nyāya. There are two great steps, it seems to me, which lead from the one to the other. The first is taken by Vātsyāyana, who neatly reverses the relative importance of the terms in question. God is no longer caused to act by human effort; rather, human effort is now rendered effective by God. The second is taken by Uddyotakara. From the point of view of dialectics his great contribution was the introduction of proofs of God's existence. But in regard to basic Nyāya structure his removal of God from the laws of causation seems to me more important. Only in minor respect does Vācaspati Miśra carry this theistic tendency further.

Returning to the *Nyāyasūtra*, when we consider the historical movement of which it forms part, we are forced to proceed largely by guesswork. But Jacobi's suggestion seems to me the most sensible that has been offered. That is to say, both Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika may have grown out of a more thoroughgoing materialism. But the *sūtras* already represent a compromise with orthodoxy (Jacobi *op. cit.* p. 42). Certainly this theory is in consonance with the post-*sūtra* history of Nyāya, and if we accept it, we may say that the commentators who built up Nyāya theology were simply continuing a tendency that is already present in the work of the Sūtrakāra.

A LITTLE KNOWN CHAPTER IN MYSTIC EXPERIENCE OF THE ĀḶVĀRS.

By

DR. K. C. VARADACHARI, M.A. PH. D., TIRUPATI.

A close study of the mystic life has always entailed revision of some at least of the well-known principles of our logical and philosophical thought. Though paradoxically enough the mystic life is said to lead to the personal experience of the Universal nature of oneself which is impersonal, it is however at its higher altitudes that this double poise of the Supreme Being or Person or Principle becomes evident.

In this brief paper written to honour Dr. S. K. Belvalkar on his seventy-fifth birth day I wish to study the trends of mystic experience of one of the greatest mystics of South India.

Francis Thompson in his *Hound of Heaven* represents the episode of the soul running away from God for fear that God wants to take away every thing that the soul possesses for Himself, and in the process loses everything, till finally the soul is overtaken by God and told that God was not chasing the soul to take everything away from it but to give everything to it. The episode is deeply mystically revealing the earnestness of God's love for man. It also reveals that the soul has an inherent capacity to misinterpret God's approaches to man.

Saint Saṭhakopa, otherwise known as Nam-māḷvār, describes an experience of his own. When the soul in its extremis has performed the overt act of dedicating itself to the Divine so that all may know[1], the approach of the Divine Lord is sensed and felt and subtly experienced. But the soul's finiteness, which till now did not occupy any consideration or weight in its asking the Infinite to possess it, begins to disturb the sout. How can man dare to love the Infinite, give up itself to it or ever dream of being of it ? Indeed whilst this metaphysical impossibility is clear, the soul is aware of another supreme concern for God's perfection and infinity growing within it which is the quality of love for God. 'Am I', says the Āḷvār, fit to be taken up by God, wedded to God, be related in any sense with God ?

Man's endeavour to attain the Infinite as lover is ordinarily considered to be an impossible dream ; it has the same possibility as the Utopia of political and mystical dreamers,—a dream which

1. My article entitled "*EROS*" : *J.S.V.O. Institute* Vol. V, pp. 1-16 & Vol. VI pp. 1-10.

the Āḷvār also had fervently dreamt. Against the advice of all, the mystic yearns for the Divine Lord but at the very moment of its attainment it shrinks from that culmination not out of fear for its own existence and independence but for God's. "Will not God's *nirmalatva*, (freedom from all taint), get affected by His contact with the soul that is infected with all *mala* ? This is a very important problem whose solution was arrived at by some Vedāntins by denying all relationship with the soul or its qualities, but some others have maintained that God's infinite nature is such that not only does it transcend all the *heya* or lower *guṇas* (*nirguṇa*), but has positive qualities of supreme excellence, the like of which the human soul or nature does not know. The Ubhaya-liṅga or towfold excellence of God is said to get over imperfection due to God's relationship with the world.

The Āḷvār does not think obviously from this metaphysical point of view. He finds that the Divine approaches the individual soul, and even as the soul moves away or shrinks from Him due to its recognition of its own impurity, even as the erstwhile *pañcamas* were doing, the Divine by physical transformatlon of the Āḷvār reveals that He has a peculiar third power not contained in the *ubhayaliṅga* conception of God's qualities and nature, the power of transformation or transfiguration of the psychophysical nature. The Āḷvār's hymns in the *Tiruvāymoḷi* fifth Hundred (5th ten ff) show how the Divine has come close to the soul and has grasped and embraced the soul and has made it its own. Those who saw the condition of the Āḷvār could not fail to notice the process—subtle, spiritual and fundamental—, by which the finite was absorbed into the Infinite freely and to yield supreme ecstacy. Everything was seen as the grace and glory of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Though the Āḷvār's consciousness of his singleness persists, the Divine comes nearer and nearer almost telling it that the Aḷvār need not fear that God's nature would be affected. The form of the Lord looms fully before the Āḷvār all the time, till the fear of polluting the Divine passes away. Thus there is nothing impossible to the Divine, if the Divine has chosen to accept the soul, with all its metaphysical, psychical and physical and *karmic* differences and imperfections and sins. All get transformed by the Divine touch. The psychology underlying this experience is unique even for the mystics, for it reveals the soul's concern for God's welfare. Southern Āḷvārs are unique in this respect; they are concerned about God's welfare for on that depends all the world's welfare. Corruptibility, it is said, is the halfbrother of power or as Lord Acton put it—power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely. It is God's *sauśīlya* that gives the cue to the incorruptibility and love of the soul for the welfare of the Divine Lord. Such an experience however must be traced to the relationship which the wife has to the husband.

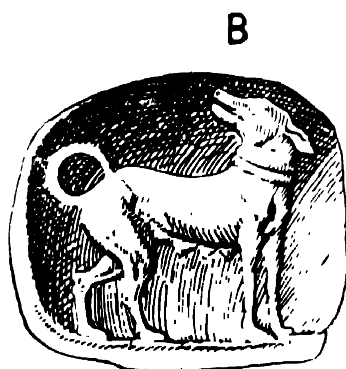
SECTION VI.

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES.

PLATE I



Painting on the Nevasa Sherd.



Bitch from a Cretan Seal

A UNIQUE REALISTIC PAINTING OF THE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD IN THE DECCAN

By Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

[Pl. I]

Indian painting is rarely realistic. Specially this is true of the painting of the few animals,—goat, ibex, fish,—depicted on pottery from Mohenjodaro[1], Harappa[2], Rangapur[3] and other sites of the Harappa (or the Indus Valley) Culture, and its likely predecessors or successors, at Chanhudaro[4] in Sind, Harappa[5] and Rupar[6] in the Punjab, and Quetta[7] and other sites in Baluchistan. Usually these paintings consist of geometric, naturalistic and animal designs. But all these, except the Pipal leaf, *at times*, and the pea-fowl[8] (domesticated and wild), and the only representation of a human being, are stylized. This may be symbolic or merely a convention. In all these there is no realism[9]. This is not a little surprising, for the so-called Indus seals or amulets portray the animal anatomy beautifully and truly. So the Indus artist could, if he willed, carve as well as paint the animal figures faithfully (see, for instance, his representation of the peacock, and the figure of a man with upraised hands).

Much of this is also true of the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age painting of Iran and Western Asia[10], as well as the Chalcolithic Cultures recently unearthed at Hastinapur[11] and Navda Toli[12] in Central India.

1. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization, Vol, III.*

2. Vatsa, *Excavations at Harappa,* Vol. II, Pls. lxii, lxv-ix,

3. Dikshit, Rangapur—1947 in *BDCRI*, Vol. XI (1950-51), and *Indian Archaeology : A Review, 1954-55,* pl. xii.

4. Mackay, *Excavations at Chanhudaro*, p. 89 and pl. xxxvi.

5. *Ancient India,* No. 3, Figs. 10, 24 and 25.

6. *Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1953-54,* pls. III-IV.

7. Piggott in *Ancient India*, No. 3, p. 131 ff.

8. Of all such representations, I think, the finest is on a sherd from the defences found at Harappa in 1940, *Ancient India,* No. 3, fig. 10, 38-

9. The evidence upto 1936 has been collected and discussed by Starr, Richard F. S., *Indus Valley Painted Pottery* (Princeton, 1941). Subsequent publications, cited above in foot-notes 4-8, do not alter the position.

10. See Starr, *Op. cit* and Scaeffer, Claude, F. A., *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie* (London, 1948).

11. *Ancient India,* Nos. 10-11.

12. Observation based on writer's study of the pottery, not yet fully published.

When against this background, we see the fragmentary figure from Nevasa, District Ahmednagar, we cannot but marvel at the art that lies behind it. The sherd was found at a depth of 18′ 6″ in layer 10-a, some three feet below the top-most level of the Chalcolithic debris. It further lay near the burial urns, though not in such a context as to suggest a definite connection between the burials and the sherd.

The sherd is 44 mm. long, 36 mm. broad and 8 mm. thick. Its fabric is coarse and brownish. A thin reddish slip, which has worn out partially, exposes the natural surface. Over it is painted in black a dog or dog-like figure. Only the hind two legs, a part of the abdomen and the curved-up tail are now extant (in all 30 mm. long and 25 mm. broad, **(Pl. IA)** The front part from near the neck is broken. Unlike the convention in the chalcolithic painting of Western Asia, the body is not hatched, but solidly filled up. The profile of the animal's body was thus shown, but whether the head was also similarly represented or twisted backwards or it faced the full front can only be guessed. Whatever it be, there is no doubt that a dog or dog-like animal (jackal or wolf) was depicted, as if walking.

In the whole realm of the animal portraits of the pre-or proto-historic period, this animal itself is rarely, if at all, represented. None figures in Indian, Western Asiatic, or Early Egyptian and Cretan[1] paintings or cave paintings of the Upper Palaeolithic Period in Europe[2]. In the last, though the cow, bull, ox, deer, ibex, wild ass, bison and once a wolf are often most realistically drawn, the dog is indeed absent. And in the case of wolf, only the head is shown.[3] Still, if any comparison is possible in the faithful representation of the animals, it is between these. for both are directly drawn from life.

1. An exception has, however, to be made as far as the Cretan seals and Early Neolotic sculptures and paintings are concerned. On the former a life-like bitch and hounds are beautifully engraved ; the former is illustrated on Pl. I, B. The seals belong to the late Minoan Period, c. 1400 B. C. See Evans, Arthur, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, Vol. IV, pt. ii, p. 581.

2. Windels Fernand, *The Lascaux Cave Paintings (London)*.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 132, 23.

PLATE II



An Arhat or Bodhisattva.

Sir Aurel Stein Collection, Museum of Central Asian Antiquities

New Delhi

CHINESE ARTISTS AND THE AJANTA PAINTINGS

BY DR. G. YAZDANI, HYDERABAD DN.

Pl. II—III

Some scholars have surmised that Khoten, (Khotan), whence Sir Aurel Stein brought a large number of wall-paintings, was included in the vast empire of Aśoka. Fi-hien visited the province in the third stage of his journey to India in A. D. 400, and he mentions, "the monks amount to several myriads, most of whom are students of the Mahāyāna[1]". He also noted *stūpas* (topes) build in front of the houses of people, "the smallest of them may be 20 cubits high or rather more[2]". Fi-hien stayed at Khoten for nearly three months, 'wishing to see the procession of images, while his companions proceeded towards K'eeh-ch'a (regions of Ladakh?)[3]. The images probably represented the Buddha.

Proceeding further towards west from Khoten, traversing several stages, Fi-hien visited the city Na-kie (Nagarahāra), where he saw the *shadow* of the Buddha in a cavern, half a *yojana* to the south of the city. "At a distance of ten paces or so we see it, like the true form of Buddha, of a gold colour, with the marks and signs perfectly clear and shining. On going nearer to it or farther off, it becomes less and less like the reality, The kings of the bordering countries have sent able artists to copy the likeness, but they have not been able (to do so)[4]". My own guess is that the so-called *shadow* of the Buddha was a painted representation of the Master which being situated in the interior of a cavern could be seen from a certain point only, and became dim or invisible if the visitor wanted to see it from another place, near or distant. Another point worth noting in this record—"The kings of the bordering countries have sent able artists to copy the likeness,—" is that the practice of securing copies of the representations of the Buddha was well established at the end of the 4th century A. D., when Fi-Hien visited Nagarahāra. The copies of the Buddhist paintings secured by the French Archaeological Mission at Hadda and other Buddhist sites in Afghanistan in recent years show distinct influence of the Ajanta art, although as regards date, they may vary from the 5th to the 7th centuries A. D.

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1. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 16, and Beal, S, *Buddhist Records of Western World*, Vol. I, Introduction, xxv ff,

2. *Ibid.*

3. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 18.

4. Beal, S. *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, Introd., xxxv.

To prove the influence of the Buddhist art of Ajanta in the Middle Asiatic countries and in China ample material is available for the student in the Plates of A. V. Le Coq's *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, and in works like, *Les Grottes de Touen Huang* by Paul Pelliot (Paris, 1914-24), and *A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein* (London, 1931), by Arthur Waley. In this short paper I present to the reader photographs of two subjects, one representing an *Arhat* or Bodhisattva, **(Pl. II)**, the original painting of which is exhibited in the Museum of Asiatic Antiquities at Delhi among Sir Aurel Stein's collection, (Wall-painting Har. B, No. 3—Case D, Room I); and the other begging friar Brāhmaṇa, painted on the rock wall of Ajanta, *Vihāra* XVII, Viśvantara Jātaka. **(Pl. III)**. The first subject has not been published before and its photograph was taken at my request in 1939, through the good offices of the late Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the then Director General of Archaeology in India. The plumpness of the face is of course a local feature, but the mark (*bindī*) on the forehead, the thin up-drawn eye-brows, the meditative expression of the eyes, the red painted thick lips and the long stretched lobes of the ears are typical of the Ajanta style, with a tendency towards 'mannerism', such as we find at Ajanta as well in the wall-paintings of the sixth century A. D. This tendency is markedly noticeable in this figure **(Pl. II)** in the moulding of the arms and wrists and the treatment of the fingers of hand. The 'additional eye', symbolic of the inner vision, or the eye of omniscience, which is noticed frequently in the representations of Indra at Ajanta, is shown here on the joint hands, a gesture of supplication or religious devotion. The dress and ornaments, although conventional to a degree, have a close resemblance to those to be noticed at Ajanta. The embroidered skull-cap is a local feature, but caps of this shape without embroidery work may also be seen on the heads of 'foreigners' painted on the walls and ceilings of Ajanta. There are also two wing-like projections close to the shoulders of this figure which may remind one of the conventional wings of the little angel hovering in space over the ship which has met a disaster in the sea infested with monsters (Pūrṇa-Avadāna), right wall, *Vihāra* II, Ajanta. The similarity may further be noticed in the floral designs of the foreground and background of this painting to those to be found at Ajanta.

The close resemblance of this subject to the wall-paintings of Ajanta, both in style and religious spirit, shows how the influence of Ajanta had spread far and wide through the votaries of Buddhist faith, who visited India in different periods, when this faith was in a flourishing condition in the land of its birth, and when monasteries and institutions associated with the legend of the Buddha and his disciples existed in a large number in the country.

PLATE III



Four Friars and the Prince in Chariot: Viśvantra Jātaka, Ajantā, Vihāra XVII

At Ajanta on the left wall of Vihāra XVII is painted an episode of the *Viśvantara Jātaka* in which the four Brāhmaṇas who had arrived too late on the day of 'the gift of seven hundreds', followed the Prince to ask him the gift of the four horses of the chariot in which he with his wife and two children was going out of the City.[1] Among these friars there is one who by his features appears to be a Chinese **(Pl. III)**. The date of the painting on the basis of a contemporary inscription carved on a pilaster in this *Vihāra* is fixed in the last quarter of the 5th century,[2] but Chinese pilgrims had begun to visit India much earlier; Fi-hien visited India in th first decade of the 5th century and he was not the first to visit this land. Chinese intercourse with the western Asian countries may be dated a couple of centuries, or even earlier, before the Christian era, and the name of Chang-Kien (Chang-K'een) who was sent as ambassador to the powers on the Oxus is mentioned by several authorities,[3] although there is variance as regads the exact date of the embassy. According to Vincent Smith, during the reign of the Emperor Ho-te (A.D. 89-105), General Pan-Chao arrested the envoy of the Kushan king, Kadphises II, who wanted to marry a Chinese princess by boldly asserting his equality with the Son of Heaven. Fa-hien, who refers to the dream of the emperor Ming of Han, endorses the view that Buddhism was introduced into China in the third quarter of the 1st century (A.D. 58-75),—the emperor had his dream in A.D. 61.[4] In North-West India Buddhism flourished as popular religion under the Kushan kings during the first two centuries of the Christian era, and sculpture and other fine arts had attained a high standard of beauty and grace under the patronage of these kings. Kushans probably belonged to the Saka clan, several tribes of which had established themselves as rulers of minor kingdoms in the countries on the western borders of India; and Śaka *satrapies* first under the suzerainty of the Kushan emperor and afterwards as independent kingdoms existed in Mālwā and Mahārāshṭra from the 2nd century B. C. to the 4th century A. D. The Śakas were enthusiastic patrons of the Buddhist religion and the statues and inscriptions of Śaka chiefs exist to this day in some of the Buddhist shrines of Western India.[5] Ajanta, as its inscriptions and the grand style of its architecture show, had

1. *Jātaka*, VI, 265.
2. *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, Monograph No. 15, p 9.
3. Legge in Fa Hien's *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (p. 27, f. n. 2) writes, "Less is known of Kan-Ying than of Change-K'een. Being sent in A.D. 88 by his patron Pan-Chao on an embassy to the Roman empire. he got only as far as the Caspian Sea, and returned to China. He extended however the knowledge of his countrymen with regard to the western regions."
4. *Records of Buddhist Kingdoms*, p 28, f. n. 4.
5. I would draw attention to the figures carved on the wall of *Vihāra* XIV at Bhaja (Fergusson : *Cave Temples of India*, Pls. xcvi-viii) and to the statue near the Chaitya Cave at Kondane, referred to on p. 221 of the above work.

become an important centre of Buddhist faith about the 2nd century B. C., and it is not unlikely that through the religious zeal and the political influence of the Śakas the fame of the marvellous paintings of Ajanta would have reached as far as Khoten, and from there to China. The representation of a Chinese friar in the wall-painting in *Vihāra* XVII may prove the continuity of an earlier practice of the Chinese artists coming over to Ajanta with the object of learning the Buddhist religious art to embellish the shrines of their own country with similar subjects.

KURUKṢETRA IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Dr. B. C. Law, M. A., D. Litt., Calcutta

Kurukṣetra-Famous and sacred city, a mahājanapada.

Kurukṣetra was a well-known city of the Kurus in ancient times. It was the most sacred region of the Dvāpara age according to the Purāṇas[1]. It was one of the 16 great countries (*mahājanapadas*) of Jambudvīpa or the continent of India[2]. It was situated 25 miles south of Ambala on the river Sarasvatī.

Importance

Pāṇini mentions Kurukṣetra in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4. 1. 127/176 ; 4. 2. 130). Manu indirectly praises the prowess of the people of Kurukṣetra by saying that they should be placed in the van of any battle array[3]. The *Yoginītantra* 2/1 ; 2/7, 8) refers to Kurukṣetra. The city of the Kauravas was visited by the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and it appears to have been favoured by his masterly discourses. The Buddha went there for alms and ate up what he received as alms on the bank of the Anotatta lake[4]. The *Mahābhārata* or the Great Epic grew up with the Kuru people and their country as its background[5].

Explanation of Kaurava.

Pāṇini explains the formations of the word *Kauravya* from Kuru, the first in the sense of *apatya* (son) and second in the sense of king (*Kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ* ; *Kuruṇādibhyo ṇyaḥ*—IV. 1. 151, 172).

Capital cities

The ancient capital of the Kurus was Hastināpura, identified with a ruined site in the Meerut district, on the old bed of the Ganga, and the later capital was Indaprastha founded by the Pāṇḍavas. It was identified with modern Indarpat near Delhi[6].

The ancient Kuru country included Sonapat (Sonaprastha), Amin,[7] Karnal and Panipat (Pāṇiprastha). Pargiter points out

1. *Matsya*, 106, 57 ; *Kūrma*, I, 37.
2. *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 213 ; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.
3. *Manusaṁhitā*, VII, 193.
4. *Dīpavaṁsa*, I, vs. 43-44 ; piṇḍapātaṁ kurudīpe gantvā...*Anotatta-dahe Buddho paribhuñjitvāna bhojanaṁ*.
5. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 101.
6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 308 ; Pargiter *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, Tr. p. 355.
7. According to Cunningham five miles to the south-south-east of Thāneśvara there was a large and lofty mound called Amin which is a contraction of *Abhimanyu-khera* or the mound of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna. It was about 2000 ft. long (from north to south) by 800 ft. in breadth with a height from 25 to 30 ft. On the top there was the small village called Amin, Cunningham, *ASIR*, XIV, p. 97 f. n. ; *AGI*, 386.

Location

that the Kurus occupied the country from the Śivis and Sub-Himalayan tribes on the north to Matsya, Śūrasena and south Pañcāla on the south and between north Pañcāla on the east and Marubhūmi (Rajputana desert) on the west.[1] Koravya had a park called Migācira (*Jāt.* VI, 256).

Kurukṣetra, which was undoubtedly a holy place in India,[2] was also called Sthāṇutīrtha[3] and Samantapañcaka.[4] It was also known under various names: Brahmasara, Rāmahrada,[5] Vinaśana and Sannihati or Sannihatyā.[6] It was also called Dharmakṣetra as mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā* (Ch. I, v. 1) and the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, 86. 6). Brahmakṣetra[7] was another name of Kurukṣetra according to the Jābālopaniṣad quoted by Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata* (...*Kurukṣetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanaṁ sarveṣāṁ bhūtānāṁ Brahmasadanaṁ*).

Different names

Kurukṣetra may be identified with Sthāneśvara or Sthāṇvīśvara or Thāneśvara which was known to the Chinese as *Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo* and to the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, as *Batangkaisara*.[8] The name of Thāneśvara is said to be derived either from the *sthāna* or abode of *īśvara* or Mahādeva[9] or from the amalgamation of the names of *sthāṇu* and *īśvara* or from *sthāṇu* and *sar*, a lake.[10] The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang describes Thāneśvara as the westernmost country of the Buddhist Madhyadeśa,[11] whereas the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 22) and *Mahāvagga* (V. 13. 12) mention Sthūṇa or Thūṇa, a Brahmin village, as its western boundary (*pacchimāya disāya*). According to the *Divyāvadāna* Sthūṇa and Upasthūṇa were Brahmin villages (*paścimena Sthūṇopasthūṇakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau* p. 22).

Identification

This city, which is considered as especially holy in the three worlds,[12] was bounded on the south by Khāṇḍava,

1. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., 354 f. n.

2. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 129, pp. 294-9 *Saurapurāṇa*, 67. 12; *Padmapurāṇa*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, vs. 35-36; Cf. *Kūrmapurāṇa*, Pūrvabhāga, 30. 45-48.

3. *Ibid.*, Śalyaparva, Ch. 54; Vanaparva, Ch. 83.

4. *Ibid.*, Vanaparva, 129. 22; Śalyaparva, Ch. 51; *Vāmana-pu.* 22. 15-16.

5. *Ibid.*, III, Ch. 83. v. 40.

6. *Ibid.*, Vanaparva, 129. 22; *Vāmana-pu.*, 22. 15-16; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol IV, p. 683.

7. *Ibid.*, Ch 83, v. 6.

8. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1927 p. 128.

9. The temple of Mahādeva Sthāṇu was situated half a mile to the north of Thāneśvara—N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 110.

10. Cunninghan, *AGI.*, pp. 376, 379.

11. Cunningham, *AGI.*, Intro. xliii f.n.

12. *Trayāṇāmapi lokānāṁ Kurukṣetraṁ viśiṣyate—Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 83. 203.

Boundary as mentioned

Tūrghna on the north, and Parīṇah on the west.[1] Parīṇah was the name of a place in Kurukṣetra in the Brāhmaṇa texts.[2]

The country known as Kurukṣetra

The country immediately around Thānesvara between the rivers Sarasvatī (modern Sarsuti) and Dṛiṣadvatī (Ṛgvedic Aśmanvatī, modern Rakshī)[3] was known as Kurukṣetra of the field or land of Kuru, who is said to have become an ascetic on the bank of the great holy lake to the south of the town.[4] This lake which was called by various names such as Brahmasar,[5] Rāmahrad, Vāyu or Vāyavasar and Pavanasar, was an oblong sheet of water, 3546 ft. in length from east to west and 1900 ft. in breadth. Abu Rihan on the authority of Varāhamihira records that during eclipses of the moon the waters of all other tanks visited the tank at Thānesvara[6]. The territory to the south of the Sarasvatī and and to the north of the Dṛṣadvatī appears to have been included in Kurukṣetra[7], which comprised the whole tract on the west of the Yamunā.[8] Sometimes Uttarapañcāla was included in Kurukṣetra.[9] The Kurus of the Madhyadeśa were called the Dakṣiṇa-Kurus.[10] There existed a constant feud between the north and south Kurus. Khāṇḍava, Tūrghna and Parīṇah were the border portions of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from it (P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśastra, IV. 681). To the north of Kurukṣetra the Sivis occupied the land in the epic times and the Uśīnaras, who were an ancient petty tribe, dwelt to its north.[11]

Northern Kuru country

Northern Kuru country was the place where the inhabitants enjoyed natural perfection and complete happiness.[12] It is described as a land rich in delights, having beautiful woods, streams, flowering trees, mansions, wide halls, elephants, horses, gates, triumphal gates, etc.[13] Rāmacandra

1. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* v.1.1 ;*CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 116, *Vedic Index,* I, p. 170.

2. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa,* XXV 13 1 · *Lāṭyāyana Srautasūtra,* X, 19.1 ; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra,* XXIV, 6.34 ; *Sāṅkhyāyana Śrautasūtra,* XIII, 29.32.

3. *CASR.*, XIV, 89.

4. Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 380 ; *Vāmanapurāṇa,* ch. 32. V. 24.

5. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 83. 85 ; *Vāmanapurāṇa,* 49. 38-41 ; *Nāradiya* Uttara, 65. 95.

6. Cunningham, *AGI.*, pp. 380, 383.

7. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 86. 6.

8. *Rāmāyaṇa,* Ayodhyākāṇḍa, lxx. 12.

9. *Jātaka* No. 505 ; *Kururaṭṭhe Uttarapañcālanagare, Jāt.* IV. p. 444— Cf. *Mbh.*, I, 138.

10. *Mbh.*, I, 109.10.

11. *Vedic Index,* Vol. I, p. 103 ; *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 322 ; *CHI.*, I, p. 84 ; Law, *Tribes in Ancient India,* p. 68.

12. *Rāmāyaṇa,* Griffith's Tr., Bk. II, Canto XCI, p. 236.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

referred to the beauty of Northern Kuru-land.[1] Kabandha referred to its blissful shade where stood trees with fruits throughout the year.[2] Sugrīva mentioned its golden buds of lilies, lovely flowers and blue lotuses.[3]

The Pañcālas, a confederation of five tribes, were the neighbours of the Kurus. According to the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XXV, 13.3) the Ruśamā is said to have run round Kurukṣetra. Asthipura and Vyāsasthalī were also the neighbouring places. Asthipura was situated on the west of Thaneśvara and south of Aujasaghāt, where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Kurukṣetra battle were cremated.[4] According to Cunningham Asthipura (place of bones) was close to Cakratīrtha[5], which is supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma.[6] Bones of large size were still to be seen here in the time of Hiuen Tsang.[7] The corpses were heaped up like straw-ricks and their bones still covered the plain.[8]

Neighbouring places

Vyāsasthalī (modern Basthali) was 17 miles to the south-west of Thāneśvara. Here Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son[9]. Vyāsasthali was 16 miles to the west of Karnal and 17 miles south-west of Thāneśvara. Here Vyāsa was visited by 9 sages[10]. Amin was situated 5 miles south of Thāneśvara, where Arjuna's son Abhimanyu was killed, and Aśvatthāmā was defeated by Arjuna and the gem attached to his skull was severed and given to the Pāṇḍavas[11].

Extent

The extent of Kurukṣetra (Pali Kurukhetta—*Jāt.*, VI, 291) is said to be five *yojanas* (1 *yojana* = 12 miles). It was 300 leagues in extent, *tiyojanasate Kurudhamma-Jātaka* No. 537). Tradition gives the kingdom of the Kurus a circumference of 2000 miles[12].

The rivers Driṣadvatī, Sarasvatī and Āpayā were the three rivers flowing within the boundaries of Kurukṣetra[13]. Pischel has

1. *Ibid.*, Bk. II, Canto XCIV, p. 242.
2. *Ibid.*, Bk. III, Canto LXXIV, p. 381.
3. *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, xlii, p. 4 5.
4. *Padmapurāṇa*, Adi, 27.62.
5. *ASIR.*, Vol. 2, p. 219.
6. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 42. 5 ; 57. 89 ; 81. ?.
7. Cunningham, *ASIR.*, Vol. XIV, p. 98.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
9. *Mahābh.*, Vanaparva, 81. 96 ; *Nāradiya*, Uttara, 65. 83 ; *Padmapurāṇa*, 1. 26. 90-91.
10. Cunningham, *ASIR.*, Vol. XIV, p. 98 ; Kennedy, *Researches in Hindu Mythology*, p. 135 note.
11. *Mahābhārata*, Sauptikaparva, Ch. XV, vs. 27 ff. ; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 110
12. *Jātaka*, V. 57. 484 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 27.
13. *Mbh.*, III, 83, 68 ; Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, 2, 218.

Rivers

assigned the river Āpayā to Kurukṣetra. Pastyā was a stream in Kurukṣetra (*Vidische Studien*, 219). The river Āpayā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* under the name of Āpagā[1]. This famous river was used by the perfected beings according to the *Mahābharāta*.[2]

Lakes & forests

Anyataḥ-plakṣā and Śaryaṇāvant were the lakes of Kurukṣetra.[3] Pischel places the lake Anyataḥ-plakṣā somewhere in Sirmor.[4] The lake Śaryaṇāvant[5] appears to have been situated in the back part of Kurukṣetra.[6] Dvaipāyana lake was situated at Thāneśvara. There were seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra, which were considered as very holy. They were as follows: Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana, and Sītāvana.[7]

Kurukṣetra constituting Brahmarṣideśa & not Brahmāvarta

The *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (II. 19) states that Kurukṣetra constituted Brahmarṣideśa (sacred land of the Brahmanical sages) contiguous to it.[8] It was not included in the Brahmāvarta, which lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛiṣadvatī and which was built by the gods according to the famous law-giver Manu.[9]

Kurukṣetra of Manu a centre of Vedic culture.

The Kurukṣetra of Manu may be intended for the country of the Kurus in the more immediate vicinity of Delhi.[10] Kurukṣetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmaṇa period. King Kuruśravaṇa, son of Trasadasyu, is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 33. 4). The *Ṛgveda* (X. 98. 5, 7; Cf. *Nirukta*, II, 10) refers to Devāpi and Santanu as the sons of Ṛṣtisena, a Kuru king. There is also a mention of a Kauravya husband talking with his wife in the *Atharvaveda* (20. 127. 8). The *Maitrāyaṇīsaṁhitā* (II, 1. 4.) and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (V. 1. 1.) point out that gods performed a *sattra*[11] in Kurukṣetra. In the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (1. 10. 1-7; *S.B.E*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19) occurs the story of Uṣasticākrāyaṇa, a contemporary of Janaka of Videha, who lived with his young wife in Ibhyagrāma, when the Kuru country was struck by hail-storms

1. Vanaparva, LXXXIII, 6031-40; Cunningham, *ASIR.*, XIV, 88; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, p. 293.
2. *Āpagā nāma Vikhyātā nadī siddhaniṣevitā*—Vanaparva, 83. v. 68.
3. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 5. 1. 4.
4. *Vedische Studien*, 2. 217.
5. *Ṛgveda*, 1. 84, 14; viii. 6, 39; 7, 29; ix. 65. 22; x. 35. 2.
6. *Vedic Index*, II. p. 364.
7. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 34. 3ff; *Nāradīya*, Uttara, 65. 4-7; *ASIR*, XIV, pp. 90-91.
8. *Brahmāvartādanantaraḥ*
9. *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, II. 17; cf. *Mahābh*. III. 83. 53; *Vāmanapurāṇa*, ch. 33. v. 9.
10. Wilson, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Tr., Vol. II, p. 142, f.n. 4.
11. It may mean any oblation or meritorious work equivalent to the performance of a *sattra*—a great Soma sacrifice. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 1138; Macdonell, *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1924, p. 33.

and when the crops were destroyed in the Kuruland by hailstones or locusts.[1]

Founder of Kuruksetra

King Kuru founded the city of Kurukṣetra which was named after him (*ya idaṃ dharmakṣetraṁ Kuru-kṣetraṁ cakāru*).[2] The region that lies between Taruntuka and Arantuka or Maruntuka, the lakes of Rāma and Macakruka was Kurukṣetra.[3] According to the *Papañcasūdanī* (I, p. 225), the commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the chieftains from the Kuru country were known as the Kurus and the country was later named after them. Originally Kurukṣetra is said to have been the *vedi* or the sacrificial altar of Brahmā (*Prajā-pateruttaravedirucyate sanātanī samantapañcakam*).[4] It then came to be called Samantapañcaka[5] when Paraśurāma made five pools of the blood of the Kṣatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his *pitṛs* (*purayitvā naravyāghra rudhireṇeti viśrutam Pitarastarpitāḥ sarve tathaiva prapitāmahāḥ*).[6] Lastly it came to be called Kurukṣetra when king Kuru, son of Saṁvaraṇa, ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *krośas* all round.[7] Really speaking Kurukṣetra was so called because the noble king Kuru of great prowess, who was a royal sage, ploughed it well for many years (*Purā ca rājarṣivareṇa dhīmatā bahūni varṣāṇyamitena tejasā prakṛṣṭam-tat Kuruṇā mahātmanā tataḥ Kurukṣetramitīha paprathe*).[8] He did it with great care quite unfatigued,[9] because those who would die here would reach the holy regions where there was no sin (*Iha ye puruṣāḥ kṣetre mariṣyanti...te gamiṣyani sukritān lokān pāpavivarjitān*).[10]

Territory of the Kurus

The Kurus were the people of Kurukṣetra or the upper part of the Doab, about Delhi: the lower part of the Doab was occupied by the Pañcālas.[11] The territory of the Kurus appears to have been divided into 3 parts: (1) Kurukṣetra, (2) Kuru's country, and (3) Kuru-

1. *Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 4; *JRAS.*, 1911, 510.
2. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, Ch. XIX, Tr. by Wilson, Vol. IV, p. 143 f.n. 1; *Mbh.*, Ādiparva, Vangbāsi Ed., Ch. 75, pp. 86-88; Ch. 85, p. 96; Ch. 94, p. 104; *Harivaṁsa*, Ch. XXXII, 84-85.
3. *Mbh.*, III, 83. 4; 9; 15; 52; 200; 208; Ray Chaudhury, *PHAI.* 5th Ed., p. 22—Taruntuka, Macakruka and Maruntuka were the *Yakṣa dvārapālas* guarding the boundaries of Kuruksetra.
4. *Mbh.*, III, Ch. 83. v. 208; *Ibid.*, v. 206 (Brahmavedī); *Ibid.*, IX, 53; Cf. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 22.59-60; 22.18-20; Ch. 33, v. 15.
5. A *tirtha* or the holy spot on the river Sarasvatī—*Mbh.*, III 117, 10204-10; *Ibid.*, IX, 38. 2163; 45. 2501; 1, 1, 12-13; IX, 54, 3008.
6. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, 83 28.
7. Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 19. 74-77.
8. *Mbh.* IX, 53. 2; Cf. *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99. 115-16; *Matsyap.*, 50. 20-21.
9. ......*yeneyaṁ kriṣyate kṣitiḥ...rājarṣirapyanirbhinnaḥ karṣatyeva vasundharām-Mbh*, IX, 53. vv. 5, 9; *Ibid.*, Śalyaparva, LIV, 3009; *Markandeyapurāṇa*, p. 354.
10. *Mbh*, IX, 53. 6.
11. Wilson, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Tr., Vol. II, p. 133 f. n. 1.

jāṅgala or the wasteland of the Kurus.[1] Some think that the Kuru kingdom was split up into several parts : one part having Hastināpura as its capital, was ruled by the direct descendants of Janamejaya himself. Another part was ruled by the descendants of his brother Kakṣasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha, which continued to be the seat of the kings of Yudhiṣṭhira gotra.[2] Kurukṣetra was really one of the three parts of the kingdom of Kuru according to the *Mahābhārata* (1. 109. 1). The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised Kurukṣetra or Thāneśvara. The middle region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā seems to have been called simply the Kuru's country.[3] The place of the inhabitants of Uttaradvīpa (Northern island) was called the kingdom of the Kurus.[4] A large number of inhabitants of Uttarakuru followed Mahāmandhātā, the Cakravartī king of Jambudvīpa to Jambudvīpa, and the place in Jambudvīpa where they settled came to be known as the kingdom of Kuru, including provinces, villages, towns etc.[5] The Kurujāṅgala was the eastern part of the territory of the Kurus and appears to have comprised the tract between the Gaṅgā and the northern Pañcāla.[6] This forest tract of the Kuruland extended as far as the Kāmyaka forest on the river Sarasvatī[7] Kurujāṅgala which was a forest country lay to the east of Kurukṣetra. It was Kuru's territory (apparently less cultivated).[8] After the death of Pāṇḍu, Kuntī, the affectionate mother of the five Pāṇḍavas, soon reached Kurujāṅgala. She of great fame, came to the gate of that prosperous city (......*sā tvadīrghena kālena samprāptā Kurujāṅgalam vardhamānapuradvāraṁ nāsasādā yaśasvinī*).[9] It was also called Śrīkaṇṭhajanapada.[10] It was included in Kurukṣetra and the entire Kurudeśa was called by this name[11] The capital of Śrīkaṇṭha was Bilaspur, 33 miles north-west of Saharanpur.[12]

The Pāṇḍavas saw the Kurujāṅgala region. Here the Kāmyaka forest was visited by them.[13] Nīlakaṇṭha explains

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1. .. *Kurujāṅgalam kuravotha kurukṣetram trayametad vardhata*-*Mbh.*, Ādiparva, 109. v. 1.
2. Ray Chaudhury, *PHAI.*, 5th Ed., 37-38.
3. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, pp. 354-55 f. n.
4. *Śasanavaṁsa* p. 12—Uttarad pavāsīnaṁ ṭhanaṁ Kururaṭṭhaṁ **nāma** ; vide also Law, *History of Buddha's Religion*, *SBB*, p. 13.
5. *Papañcasudanī*, I, pp. 225-26. *uttarakuruto agatamanussehi āvasitappadeso Kururaṭṭham ti nāmam . gāmanigamadaya upidāya...*
6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, LXXII ; *Mbh.*, Sabhāparva, XIX, 793-94.
7. *Sarasvatīkūle kāmyakaṁ nāma kānanam*—*Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 36.41.
8. Pargiter, *AIHT.*, p. 76 ; *Mbh.*, I, 126. 4901-6 ; II, 19. 793 ; v. 152. 5191, 5195.
9. *Mbh.*, I, Ch 126, v. 9.
10. Baṇa, *Harṣacarita*, Ch. iii, p. 108 ; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 110.
11. N. L. Dey, *Geo Dict.*, p. 110 ; *Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. 32
12. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Ch. 40 ; N. L. Dey, *Geo. Dictionary*, p. 191.
13. *Mbh.*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Vanaparva, Ch. 5. v. 3—*Tataḥ Sarasvatīkūle sameṣu marudhanvasu Kāmyakaṁ nāma dadriśurvanaṁ munijanapriyam.*

'*dhanvā*' as *jāṅgaladeśa*. Yudhiṣṭhira was in this forest. He was met by the sage Maitreya who reached Kurujāṅgala, while visiting holy places.[1] The messengers sent by the sage Vaśiṣṭha to bring back Bharata from his maternal uncle's place, proceeded towards the west through the tract known as Kurujāṅgala.[2] Pargiter rightly suggests that the Jāṅgalas were the same as the people of Kurujāṅgala (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., p. 309 f. n.). The Jāṅgalas are mentioned with the Kurus and contiguous tribes. So Pargiter's assumption seems to be correct, for we do not hear of any other people of this name mentioned in ancient literature or inscriptions.

Kuru and his successors

Bharatas & Kurus merged together

Kuru raised the Paurava realm to eminence and extended his sway beyond Prayāga. He subdued south Pañcāla. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra and Kurujāṅgala which adjoined it on the east and in which Hastināpura, the ancient capital of Kurukṣetra, lay.[3] The successors of Kuru were called the Kurus or the Kauravas. The Kurus ruled over Kurukṣetra about 830 B. C. according to Pargiter.[4] Rapson points out that the Bharatas who were settled in the country of the Sarasvatī in the Ṛgvedic times,[5] were later merged in the Kuru people and that their whole territory became famous in history under the name of Kurukṣetra, which was the scene of the great battle of the descendants of Bharata Dauḥshyanti and the centre from which the Indo-Aryan culture spread first throughout Hindusthan and eventually throughout the whole sub-continent.[6]

Hiuen Tsang's visit

Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 7th century A. D. came to Thāneśvara (*Sa-tu-ni-shi-fa-lo*). The holy land of Kurukṣetra must have been extended to the river Dṛṣadvatī at the time of Hiuen Tsang[7]. According to him it was above 7000 *li* in circuit and its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit. The town of Thāneśvara consisted of an old ruined fort about 1200 ft square at top with the modern town on a mound to the east and a suburb called Bāhari on another mound to the west[8]. According to the Chinese pilgrim its soil was rich and fertile and the crops were abundant; the climate was warm; the manners and customs of the people were not liberal; the rich families vied with each other in extravagance. The people were

1. *Mbh.*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Vanaparva, Ch. 10. v. 11.
Tīrthayātrāmanukrāman praptosmi Kurujāṅgalān |
yadṛcchayā Dharmarājam dṛṣṭavān Kāmyake vane ||
2. *Rāmāyana*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 68. v. 13.
Te Hastinapure Gaṅgam tīrtvā pratyanmukhā yāyuḥ |
Pañcâladesamāsāddya madhyena Kurujāṅgalam ||
3. *Mbh*, I, 109, 4337, 4360 ; 199. 7855.
4. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 326.
5. *Ṛgveda*, III, 23. 4.
6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 47.
7. Cunningham, *A. G. I.*, p. 382.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

greatly devoted to magical arts. The majority pursued trade, and few were given to farming; varities from other lands were collected in this country. There were three Buddhist monasteries with more than 700 professed Buddhists, all Hīnayānists. There were more than 100 Deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous[1]. On every side of the capital within a precinct of 200 *li* in circuit was an area called by the men of that place as the land of religious merit. Four or five *li* to the north-west of the city of Thāneśvara a Stūpa existed about 300 ft. high built by Aśokarāja. The bricks were all of a yellowish red colour, very bright and shining. From the Stūpa a brilliant light was frequently seen. Going south of the city about 100 *li*, there was the Gokaṇṭha monastery. The priests were virtuous and well-mannered, possessed of quiet dignity[2].

Religious history

Kurukṣetra was the holy spot of the righteous Kurus. There were about hundred *tīrthas* in Kurukṣetra according to the *Nāradīya*[3] The *Kurukṣetramāhātmya* in the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* mentions 180 holy places. But the popular belief is that there were 360 holy places,[4] most of which are connected with the names of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. Cunningham gives a list of *tīrthas* or holy places in Kurukṣetra.[5]

The Liṅga worship was first established at Sthāṇvīśvara.[6] Muñjavata was a place of pilgrimage in or near Kurukṣetra.[7] According to the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, 83. 1-2) those who are in Kurukṣetra are free from all sins and he who always says: 'I shall go to Kurukṣetra and I shall reside in Kurukṣetra, is freed from sins'.—

Kurukṣetraṁ gamiṣyāmi kurukṣetre vasāmyaham ।
ya evaṁ satatam brūyāt sopi pāpaiḥ pramucyate ॥

According to the *Mahābhārata* (126, 10167) Māndhātṛ sacrificed in the country afterwards called Kurukṣetra, which was then Druhyu or Ānava land. The Vaiśālī king named Marutta, son of Avikṣit, sacrificed on the Yamuna near Kurukṣetra[8] The *Tīrthayātrāparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, 5074) points out that south from the Sarasvatī and north from the Dṛṣadvatī one living in Kurukṣetra really lives in heaven—

Dakṣiṇena Sarasvatyāḥ Dṛṣadvatyuttareṇa ca ।
ye vasanti Kurukṣetre te vasanti triviṣṭape ॥

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 314
2. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 183, 186.
3. Uttara, Ch. 65.
4. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*. p. 380.
5. *ASIR.*, XIV, pp. 97-106 ; *IA.*, 1904, pp. 298-300.
6. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. 44 ; N. L. Dey, *Geo. Dictionary*, p. 191.
7. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, LXXXIII, 5092 ; LXXXV, 8210.
8. *Ibid.*, III, 129, 10528-29 ; Pargiter, *AIHT.*, p. 268 f. n.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] says that the Videhan king Janaka celebrated a sacrifice in which he bestowed huge largesses upon the Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru country. He collected a thousand kine and ten *pādas* were tied to each single horn of each cow. D. R. Bhandarkar points out that *pāda* is known to be the name of a coin referred to in one of Pāṇini's Sūtras (V. 1. 34) and also in an inscription of the 10th century A.D.[2] It must have denoted a coin which in value was ¼ of that coin which was the standard money.[3]

According to the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Ch. 83. v. 1) all sentient beings are freed from all kinds of sin even at the sight of Kurukṣetra (*...Pāpebhyo yatra mucyante darśanāt sarvajantavaḥ*). By visiting it one acquires the same amount of merit as can be obtained by making a gift of 1000 cows or by performing a Rājasūya sacrifice.[4] Kurukṣetra was so very holy that even its dust removed the sins of the sinners.[5]

It was at this particularly sacred place that Nahuṣa's son Yayāti performed many religious ceremonies; it was here that divine and royal sages performed the *Sārasvata-yajña* and it was here that Prajāpati performed his *yajña*.[6] The great sacrifice of *satranta* was performed in the wide region of Kurukṣetra on the banks of the Dṛṣadvatī which was considered holy on account of its virtues.[7]

The Buddha is said to have delivered a number of profound religious discourses in the Kuruland as already pointed out, and a large number of people embraced Buddhism.[8]

In the 11th century A.D. Kurukṣetra was visited by people as a place of pilgrimage especially at the time of the eclipse[9],

All the inhabitants of the Kuru kingdom gave gifts and performed good works following their king.[10] A Kuru king together with the members of his family and his chief officials obeyed the *Kurudhamma* which consisted

Kuru kings

1. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, III, 1. 1ff.; vide Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 235-36.
2 *E.I.*, 1. 173. 23 and 178. 11.
3. *Carmichael Lectures*, 19.1, 58-60
4. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 83 29.
5. *Ibid*, 83. 1-8, 203-208 :
Pāṁśavopi Kurukṣetre vāyunā samuddhritāḥ |
Api duṣkṛtakarmāṇam nayanti paramāṁ gatim ||
6. *Ibid*, Vanaparva Ch 129 pp 394-95
7. *ASIR.*, XIV, p 87 ; Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 382,
8. *Aṅguttara*, V. 29-32 ; *Samyutta*, II, 92-93; 107ff ; *Majjhima*, I, 55ff., 501ff.; II, 54ff.; 261ff ; *Digha*, II, 55ff. *Theragāthā* vv. 769-793; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 57-58.
9. Alberuni's *India*. Voll. II, p. 117.
10. *Jātaka* VI, p. 329–*Rājānaṁ ādiṁkatva sabbepi Kururaṭṭhavasino dānadīni puññani katva.*

in the observance of the five rules of moral conduct and it possessed the mystic virtue of bringing prosperity to the country.[1] The Jātaka contains an account of the incidents connected with Dhanañjaya and Vidhura, notably the defeat of Dhanañjaya at dice and the meditation of Vṛdhurapaṇḍita in a friendly rivalry between the king and Sakka (Indra).[2] King Dhanañjaya had a seraglio containing 16000 dancing girls (.. *mahantaṁ pariggahaṁ soḷasasahassa nāṭakitthī paripuṇṇam*). Jarāsandha is mentioned as the king of Kurukhetta. King Korabba belonging to the family of Yudhiṭṭhila-gotta made large gifts, but he got no pleasure in making such gifts, as there was none among the recipients possessing five moral qualities.[3]

Prabhākaravardhana, father of Harṣa or Śilāditya and of his brother Rājyavardhana, was the king of Sthāṇvīśvara according to the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (Ch. III, p. 108). Harṣa removed his seat of Government from Thāneśvara to Kanauj.[4] In A.D. 648, a Chinese ambassador was sent to Harṣavardhana of Thāneśvara. He found that the General (*senāpati*) Arjuna had usurped his kingdom and the dynasty then became extinct. In the latter part of the 6th century A.D. Prabhākaravardhana, king of Thāneśvara, rose to eminence by successful wars against his neighbours, including the Mālavas, the Hun settlements in the N.W. Punjab and the Gurjaras, probably those of Rajputana, but possibly those of the Gurjara kingdom in the Punjab, now represented by Gujrat and Gujranwala districts The fact that his mother was a princess of the Gupta lineage undoubtedly stimulated his ambition and aided its realisation[5]. Thāneśvara continued to be a place of great sanctity but in 1014 A. D. it was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni, and although recovered by the Hindu king of Delhi in 1043 A. D., it remained desolate for centuries.

Constitution of Kuruland

The people of Kurukṣetra were not very important politically during the Buddha's time[6]. In the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. Kurus had monarchical form of government but they became non-monarchical in the 4th century B. C. when Kauṭilya lived[7]. The corporation of the Kurus lived by the title of *rāja* (*rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*).[8]

The famous battle-field of Kurukṣetra was situated on the

1. Kurudhamma Jātaka, *Jat.* Vol II, 366 ff.
2. *Jātaka* Vol VI, 255 ff.
3. Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka, *Jat.* IV, 361 ff.—*Raja sakala Jambhudīpam khobento mahādānam deti, taṁ gahetvā bhunjantesu ekopi pañcasīlaṁ rakkhanto nāma natthi, sabbe dussīlā va, dānaṁ rājānam na toseti.*
4. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 191.
5. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., pp. 348-49.
6. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 27.
7. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 165.
8. *Arthaśāstra* Tr., p. 455.

Battle of Kuruksetra

south of Thāneśvara, about 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north of Panipt[1]. The battle was fought at the time of Duryodhana[2]. The battle of Kuruksetra is described in the *Mahābhārata* as a fight between the Kurus and Sṛñjayas[3]. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the unfriendly feeling between them[4]. When the terrible battle between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was being fought, Mārkṣī, the beautiful wife of Droṇa, the youngest son of Madanapāla, went to Kuruksetra and entered into the battle. She beheld the contest between Bhagadatta and Arjuna[5]. Arriving at Kuruksetra the Paṇḍavas encamped with their troops on the western part of the field, facing the numerically much stronger force of Duryodhana and his allies.[6] Duryodhana caused his camps to be made to look like a second Hastināpura and into these camps he made soldiers with their horses enter in groups of a hundred each, arranging names and emblems for all of them, so that they might be recognised in the battle. With the death of Duryodhana the victory in the Kuruksetra battle fell to the Pāṇḍavas, but only a handful of their followers came out of the fray alive. The Pāṇḍus were reconciled to the aged Dhṛtarāṣṭra who retired to the forest, after remaining at the ancient capital of the Kurus, Hastināpura, for 15 years, and he and his queens finally perished in a forest conflagration. Yudhiṣṭhira himself did not reign long. On the eve of the Kuruksetra battle, Yudhiṣṭhira sought the help of the Madra king, Salya. Salya set out with his brave sons and a huge army. Duryodhana also solicited his help in the ensuing Kuruksetra battle. Salya consented, subsequently asking Yudhiṣṭhira to release him (on certain conditions) from his previous promise. After severe fighting and many vicissitudes the Madra soldiers were killed by Arjuna.[7] The war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas took place not only at Thāneśvara, but also in the country around it. The people of Kuruksetra received great help from the Kāmbojas and especially from their king Sudakṣiṇa in their great battle.[8] The fast and powerful horses of Kāmboja were of great service in the famous battle of Kuruksetra.[9] The Kāmbojas led a large army to the field of Kuruksetra and lay down their lives like the valiant Kṣatriyas. The actions of the people of Gandhāra in the long-drawn-

1. *CASR.*, XIV, p. 86 ; *Ibid.*, II, p. 212 ; *IA.*, 1904, p. 298.

2. For a detailed account of the battle, vide Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 23-33.

3. *Mbh*, VI, 45. 2 ; 60. 29 ; 72. 15 ; VII, 20. 41 ; VIII, 47, 23 ; 57. 12.

4. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 63.

5. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, p. 8.

6. *Mbh.*, Udyogaparva, Ch. 198 ; Ch. 151 ; Ch. 154.

7. *Ibid.*, Udyogaparva, Chs. 8 and 19 ; Droṇaparva, Ch. 103 ; Bhīṣmaparva, Chs. 51, 105-6 ; Karṇaparva, Chs. 5 and 6.

8. *Ibid.*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch 9.

9. *Ibid.*, Bhīṣmaparva, 71. 13 ; 90. 3 ; Droṇaparva, 22. 7 ; 22-23 ; 22-42 ; Karṇaparva, 38. 13 ; Sauptikaparva, 13, 12.

out battle of Kurukṣetra are given in detail in the *Mahābhārata.*[1] Bhīṣma while lying on the bed of arrows in the battle-field of Kurukṣetra, asked Karṇa to refrain from this fratricidal war. The field of the Kurus was the scene of the war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus in which all the nations of India were ranged on one side or the other.[2]

The Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas rigidly followed the traditional rules of a fair fight prevalent among the Kṣatriyas of Ancient India. The Yavanas or the Ionians took the side of the Kauravas in the Kurukṣetra battle along with other tribes of north-west India.[3] The Sauvīras and the Sindhus played an important part in the Kurukṣetra battle. They joined the Kauravas along with other tribes.[4] Kālidāsa refers to this battle in his *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 48).

Bharata war & Trojan war compared.

That the war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus is historical and that it took place in the ancient times cannot be doubted, however much its story may have been overloaded with legend, and however late may be the form in which it has been handed down. The legend of the Mahābhārata war in India finds its exact parallel in the legend of the Trojan war in Europe. Each became the great central point to which the nations of the middle ages referred their history. To have shared ancestrally in the fame of Kurukṣetra or of Troy was for nations the patent of nobility and ancient descent. The remotest peoples of eastern and southern India and the late invaders of the north-west alike claimed a place in the story of the *Mahābhārata*, even as the royal houses of Western Europe traced their origin to Trojan heroes.[5]

On the termination of the great Kurukṣetra battle and on the death of one hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the line of the Kurus through the blind king became extinct. The Pāṇḍavas won the victory, regaind their lost kingdom, and became masters of Kurukṣetra. We cannot vouch for the authenticity of the entire epic account of the battle, but the historicity of the battle itself should not be doubted.

1. Vide, Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 6, 12.
2. Vide *JRAS*, 1908, 309 ff.—Here an account is given of the part played by different nations and tribes who were arrayed in the great battle; Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 173.
3. *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 274 ; *Mbh.*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 20 v. 13—
Śāradvatascottaradhūrmahātmā mahesvāso Gautamascitrayodhī ||
Śakaiḥ Kirātair Yavanaiḥ Pallavaisca sārdhaṁ camūmuttarato abhiyati||
4. *Mbh.*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. IX, p. 822.
5. *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 307.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE WHEEL IN THE CAKRAVARTIN CONCEPT

BY

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Many and varied are the opinions that have been expressed on the significance of the term '*cakravartin*' (Pali : *cakkavatti*). It is the occurrence of the term in the early Buddhist canonical works, mainly in the Dīgha Nikāya, that has formed the principal subject for discussion by previous scholars; and this is natural because it is the Buddhist texts that provide the most detailed, and perhaps also the earliest, description of the Cakkavatti and his jewel of the *cakka*. Wilson[1] took the term *cakravarti* to mean 'he who abides in (*vartate*), or rules over, an extensive territory called a *cakra*. According to Kern[2] *vartin* here means *vartayati*, 'who rules'. Jacobi[3] agrees with Wilson in the sense of *vartin* but points out that the meaning given to *cakra* by Wilson does not occur in the ancient Sanskrit literature, though it is found in the lexicons. He would take *cakra* in its original sense of 'circle' and equate it with the political term *maṇḍala* as found in Manu (vii. 156 ff.) and Kāmandaka (viii. 20 ff). Another etymology was proposed by Senart :[4] Cakravartin is 'one who owns a *cakravāḷa*', deriving the latter from '*cakravarta*', a word not found either in Sanskrit or in the Prakrits, to which the suffix—*in* (possessive) has been added. At the end[5] of his work, however, Senart gave up this interpretation and accepted the idea of Lassen that Cakravartin is 'the Sun God who sets his adorable wheel in motion across the space'. Weber[6] endorsed this opinion in a review of Senart's work. Prof. Rhys Davids too supported it, translating the term 'a king of the rolling wheel', understanding by 'wheel' the 'disk of the sun'[7] as hymned in Vedic poetry, although earlier he had wavered between this idea and that of 'setting in motion onwards of the royal chariot wheel of...supreme dominion".[8] Mrs. Rhys Davids, on the other hand, refuses to go the whole hog with the solar theorists. She says, "We must by no means give all the

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Hall, i. 183, n. 1
2. *Der Buddhismus*, i. 27, note ***.
3. *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, ed. Hastings, Vol. 3, p. 337.
4. *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, pp. 6, 17.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
6 *Indische Streifen*, vol. 3, p. 422.
7. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 202, f. n. 3 & 4 ; cp. Hibbert Lectures, p. 131.
8. *S.B.E.* xi. p. 140.

credit to the sun as suggesting a wheel".[1] She opines that the 'cakka' here implies "the progressive discus, rolling on as well as round, symbols of the procession of cosmic forces, or the advance of an aggressive conqueror".[2] By 'cosmic forces, presumably, she refers to the cyclic movements of nature such as those of the year, seasons and months, and, by 'advance of an aggresive conqueror' this resourceful writer obviously alludes to the war-chariot of a victorious monarch in its militaristic progress. Another interesting sidelight on the problem is provided by a remark of Jacobi that "the first part of the compound word *cakravartin* being popularry referred to the discus of Viṣṇu, the symbol of the sun, the Cakravartin assumed in popular imagination some traits which properly belong to the divine wielder of the *cakra*".[3] Thus the term *cakra* has been understood in several ways by these writers and regarded as referring to a political 'circle' or *maṇḍala*, a cosmological 'sphere' (*cakrawāla*), the solar disk, cosmic cycle, the chariot-wheel, or the discus of Viṣṇu.

It may be indicated at the outset that in the following paragraphs the attempt is made only to determine the Vedic antecedents, if any, of the symbolism involved in the Cakravartin concept. Thus, out of the 'interpretations' cited above, only those that are relevant for a historical treatment, in other words, only those hypotheses that deserve attention on account of the pre-Buddhistic character of the evidence adduced, will be subjected to consideration. For instance, the notion that *cakra* here may mean the political *maṇḍala* as referred to by Manu and others is obviously post-Buddhistic and is unlikely to have been at the bottom of the symbolism of the 'wheel' relevant to the concept of the Universal Monarch. It can be seen from the interpretations cited above that the sense of the compound *cakravartin* varies with the particular significance attached to the grammatical form–*vartin*. There is no question about the *root* which is *vṛt*, athough its meaning may be taken as either 'to proceed', 'to exist', 'to abide', or, to 'turn', 'to rotate', 'to roll'. Jacobi[4] hesitated to follow Kern; he felt that "in all other compounds, *vartin* has the force of *vartate*, not of *vartayati*, so that Wilson's etymology seems preferable". Thus, the syntactical value of the form *vartin* appears to be the main crux of the morphological problem and therefore deserves some consideration before we proceed. As for the formation, *vartin* can be regarded either as *vṛt* with primary suffix–*in* (agent) or as noun *varta* with secondary suffix–*in* (possessive). Macdonell[5] has observed that "the very frequent secondary suffix–*in* seems some-

1. *Wayfarer's Words*, II, p. 549.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 540.
3. *Loc cit* ; reference may also be made to Waddell's suggestion that *cakka* dontes the *moon* as a symbol of Assyrian origin, *E. E. E.* 7, p. 554.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Vedic Grammar*, §132.

times to have the value of a primary suffix, exclusivsly, however, at the end of compounds". Bnt how far it had gained a primary value in the early language is not clear, for most of the words in–*in* occuring in the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* are explainable as possessives. Yet Whitney states that "in many, the other (agent) value is possible"[1]. In the later language, however, both uses are found extensively. It must be admitted that a nominal stem *varta* does not occur in the early language at all and is citable only from the lexicons.[2] Thus one is left with the probability that in -*vartin* (of *cakra-vartin*) the first element is the *guṇa* form of *vṛt*, as in *todin*, cited from Vedic by Macdonell (*ib*.), with the primary agent suffix -*in*. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that it originally meant 'one who turns or rolls' (either transitively or intransitively). It is true that in the *Ṛgveda vṛt* generally means the act of 'turning or rolling (itself)' in an intransitive sense, and the transitive idea of 'turning (something)' is conveyed only by *vartaya*-, the causative form. Yet, *vartana* occurs in both intransitive and transitive senses of despatching, turning, twisting according to the Nirukta and Pāṇini,[3] and *vartin* itself occurs in the Epic language in the sense of 'performing, exercising'.[4] Hence it appears quite legitimate to translate Cakravartin (or Pali Cakkravatti) as 'turner of the *cakra*' or 'wielder of the *cakra*', and, at least for the sense of the Pali term, there is no need to accept Jacobi's reservation as to whether *vartati* can mean *vartayati*. In fact, Pali has another similar compound with --*vattī* in *vasa-vattī* which has clearly the *causative* (transitive) sense of 'wielder of power (*vaśa*)' at several places in the early Nikāyas.[5]

In the classical passage in the Mahā-Sudassana-Suttanta where the *cakka* appears to the king it is thus described: "the treasure of the *cakka*, with its thousand spokes, with its felly and its nave, and all its parts complete"[6] There is no doubt that in this symbolism the picture of the *chariot-wheel* is the most prominent factor. After the necessary spiritual and ritualistic preliminaries, when the king addresses the Wheel: "May Your Honour, Precious Wheel, roll on, may Your Honour, conquer (all)", it rolls on (*pavattati*) to the East and the king with his four-fold army follows it. The rival kings in the East submit to his authority, and so on the kings of the South, West and North, accept his hegemony.

Now, it is important to observe, in the first place, that the *agency* of the Wheel's movement towards conquest is attributed to

1. *Sanskrit Grammar*, §1183.
2. See Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Ṛg-Veda*, s. *varta*
3. *Ibid.*; Mon. Will., *Sanskrit-English Dict.*, s. *vartana*.
4. Mon. Will., *op. cit.*, s *vartin*
5. *Dīgha Nikāya*, i. 247; ii. 261, ff. Cp. *Majjhima Nakāya*, i. 214 (vasena vatteti).
6. *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii. 172.

the king; it is the king who causes or initiates the *rolling on* of the wheel. This, therefore, should be the meaning of the relevant epithet *cakka-vatti* given to such a king; that is to say, he is 'one who sets the wheel rolling'. Thus at least from the Buddhist point of view it is clear that the term *-vartin* is to be regarded as an *agent* form made from the verb *vṛt* in its causative implication (*cakkaṁ vatteti*).

Once this interpretation of the compound *cakra-vartin* is accepted, it becomes necessary to settle the problem regarding the 'Wheel', which such a sovereign is held to 'set rolling'. It is evident from the Pali texts cited above that the Wheel should symbolize in its original state the militaristic *power* of a conquring hero. Has such a conception of a *cakra* wielded by a conquering hero any place in the pre-Buddhist Vedic culture? The solution of this historical problem is bound to throw some light on the genesis of at least one[1] aspect of the Cakravartin legend.

It is well known that the *Ṛgveda* possesses a god, the very essence of whose character is heroism of a warring and conquering type. Indra is called 'the conqueror of men' (*nṛ-ṣāh*, viii. 16.1), 'conqueror of peoples' (*carṣaṇī-sah*, i. 119. 10 etc.), 'all-conquering' (*viśvāsāh*, iii. 47.5 etc) and, particularly, 'the Hero, Indra, all-conquering, mightiest, lord of all the tribes' (vi. 44.4).[2] It is with reference to his characteristic heroic might as universal conqueror that Indra is described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. xiv) as having "won all victories to be won......having attained the overlordship, the paramount rule, the self-rule, the sovereignty, the supreme authority, the kingship, the great kingship, the suzerainty of this world...".[3] One cannot fail to note the striking similarity of these achievements of Indra to the career of the Cakravartin as found mainly in the Buddhist works.

Now, a fact of singular importance for the problem at hand is that the *Ṛgveda* also refers to Indra in a number of passages as the wielder of a *cakra*, particularly, against his foes. For instance at ii. 11. 20 the poet glorifying Indra's exploit against Vala says: "Indra let roll (on), like Sūrya, his wheel, and with the Aṅgirasas (as associates) rent Vala" (*avartayat, sūryo na, cakraṁ, bhinad Valam Indro Aṅgirasvān*). It is of interest, in view of the above discussion of the grammar of—*vartin*, to note that here the *causative* verb *avartayat* is used with the particular implication of 'hurling' in attack.

1. The present writer is of opinion that the Cakravarti concept has a complex origin and is the result of diverse social, political, cultural and mythological trends.

2. *'Indram visva-sāhaṁ naraṁ mahiṣṭham viśvacarṣaṇim'*

3. *'sarvā jitīr ajayat...sāmrājyam bhaujyam svārājyaṁ vairājyam pārameṣṭhyaṁ rajyaṁ mahārājyam ādhipatyam jitva*...(Keith's Tr., H.O.S. 25, 332 ff.).

In another old passage (viii. 96.9) Indra is implored to "scatter the weaponless Asuras, the godless ones, with the wheel; cf. *anāyudhāso asurā adevāś cakreṇa tām apa vapa ṛjīṣin*. Whatever the term 'wheel' may mean, here it is certain that it is either the symbol or the instrument of Indra's militaristic might. Not only Indra but also the Maruts who are his associates are said to use the 'wheel' in this manner: "with your glowing wheel, O Rudras, hurl at (or, overcome) him (i. e. the enemy)..." (*vartayata tapuṣā cakriyā abhi taṁ...Rudrāḥ*...ii.34.9). On this particular use of *vartaya*—with the instrumental (of the weapon) one may compare *Ṛgveda* vii. 104.5 : *Indrāsomā vartayataṁ divasparyagnitaptebhir yuvamaśmahanmabhiḥ*. It may also be observed that in several places the *Ṛgveda* uses the feminine noun *cakrī* as equivalent of *cakra*.[1] At another place this 'wheel' of attack used by Indra is described as 'chariot-wheel'—a fact highly significant when it is remembered that the Wheel of the Cakkavatti is similarly qualified as 'having a thousand spokes, with felly and nave complete'. At *Rv.* i 53.9 it is said that "with the unassailable[2] chariot-wheel, O Indra, thou far-famed, hast over-thrown the 60099 (warriors of Suśravas" cf. *ṣaṣtim sahasrā navatiṁ nava śruto ni cakreṇa rathyā duṣpadā avṛṇak*. Why the chariot-wheel symbolizes Indra's prowess in war is easily understood when it is remembered that the epithet 'car-fighter' (*ratheṣṭhā*) is exclusively used for Indra in the *Ṛgveda*.[3] In view of this fact it is of the utmost importance to note that in a very early text of the Pali canon, viz. the *Suttanipāta* (552), the Cakkavattī has the parallel epithet *rathesabho*, 'the lord of chariots'. Indra does indeed reflect the career of the tribal warrior-hero who introduced the swift battle-chariot in the antiquity of Aryan culture and revolutionized the art of warfare among the Aryan tribes. A reference that is of much significance for the 'wheel' of the Cakkavattin occurs at *Rv.* x.93.9 : ".. Indra directs the *wheel* over[4] those nations like the reins" (*indro...ni eṣāṁ carṣaṇīnāṁ cakraṁ raśmiṁ na yoyuve*). It is significant that Geldner sees in this context a probable allusion to a "wheel of sovereignty (Herrschaft)".[5]

Further evidence of a similar nature can be cited from the *Ṛgveda* to show that Indra *helps* the wheel to roll forward. At *Rv.* viii. 63.8 it is given as the most notable of Indra's heroic deeds that he "helped forth (promoted) the rolling of the wheel" (*prāvaś cakrasya vartanim*). It is significant that in a parallel passage at *Rv.* iv.30.6 it is said that "Indra helped forth the

1. See Grassmann, *op cit. s. v.*
2. Sāyaṇa : *duṣpadā duṣprapadanena; śatrubhiḥ prāptum aśakyenetyarthaḥ*'
3. See Grassmann *op cit.*, *s ratheṣṭhā*, Cp. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 294 ff.
4. See Geldner's German Tr. (H.O.S. 35) which has mainly been followed.
5. A fuller study is anticipated in a forthcoming publication on the Cakravartin.

sun", that is to say, "he promoted the course, or rolling on, of the sun", *sūryaṁ prāvaḥ......*). One need not be surprised that the 'chariot-wheel' that Indra speeds on its way should have its counterpart in the nature-mythology which is the other aspect of hero Indra's character. Obviously the sun is regarded as a 'wheel' on account of its shape, in other words, the symbol of the circular wheel on earth is projected on to the natural phenomenon of the sun. Thus in *Ṛv.* iv. 17.14 we find the claim made for Indra that "he urged the wheel of Sūrya" (*ayaṁ cakram iṣaṇat sūryasya*; cf. v. 31.11). These notices, however do not support the 'solar' interpretation of the Cakravartin's 'wheel' in the form it has been generally proposed, for it is clear from the earlier quoted passages that, apart from Indra's promoting the course of the sun, he is, as earthly hero, the wielder or turner of a wheel of power and might, probably, of *sovereignty* as Geldner suggests. The solar aspect of the wheel symbol seems to be a secondary development, a projection, so to say, of a figure of speech from the earthly to the celestial sphere.

In view of the above considerations we may come to the conclusion that the wheel as a symbol of the Cakravartin's universal sovereignty has an antecedent in Indra's *cakra* of conquering might and paramount dominion. A full explanation of this symbolism, however, will be complex and multiple. What has been attempted in this paper is only to demonstrate the fact that in seeking for the origins of the Cakravartin concept all previous writers have missed an important parallel closer at home, namely, *the all-conquering wheel of Indra*. Finally, it is necessary to emphasize that even in the parallelism brought about in this contribution, it has not been possible to refer to several other aspects of Indra's *cakra*—such as its use as a whirling weapon or discus—which need to be gone into fully before a final judgement is passed.[27]

THE RIDDLE OF THE VIKRAMA ERA.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Patna.

During the last fifteen years the problem of the Vikrama era has been discussed threadbare in several papers and works published in connection with Vikrama bimillennium celebrations; it may be useful for us to study the problem afresh and to take a stock of the situation. Vikrama is the centre of a number of Sanskrit legends and therefore I hope that this subject would appeal to my revered *guru*, Dr. S. K. Belwalkar, a life-long student of Sanskrit, to whom this volume is being dedicated.

Eras, it is believed, usually commemorate significant or memorable events. One therefore expects that there should be no uncertainty about their origin or founders. Such however is not the case with a number of Indian eras. It is popularly held that the Śaka era was founded by Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana. Sober history however knows of no such ruler ruling in 78 A.D. The Sātavāhanas were no doubt ruling at that time in the Deccan, but they had not at all started any era of their own; for their official records are dated in the regnal years of their kings. It is quite clear that the Śālivāhana era was founded by a Śaka king, but who he was we do not yet know. Wima Kadphises, Kanishka and Caṣṭana are taken to be the founders of the era by different scholars. The Gaṅga era is again a subject of controversy; scholars are not yet unanimous as to who started it and when. The origin of the Kollam era, so widely current in Malbar, is still a mystery. The same is the case with the Siṁha era, once widely current in Kathiawar.

History shows that many eras were started in later times to commemorate earlier persons or events. Christian era is the most striking example. No one had even heard of this era down to *c.* 500 A.D. A Roman priest Dionysius Exiguous conceived the idea of starting the era of Christ at about 525 A.D.; by calculation he came to the conclusion that Christ was born in the year 753 of the Roman era or in the fourth year of the 11 olympiad and thus started the use of the Christian era more than 500 years after the birth of Christ. In India the Kaliyuga era is an instance of an era being founded in later times and being antedated by more than three thousand years. The earliest instance of the use of this era is by Āryabhaṭa in *c.* 400 A.D. That the era was not in use from its start is quite clear from the Purāṇas, which have given the names and chronologies of a number of dynasties

of the pre-Bhārata war period, but have never mentioned this era in connection with any event whatsoever. If therefore some early European orientalists postulated the theory that the Vikrama era was started in 544 A.D., and antedated by six centuries, there was nothing strange about it. They probably thought that what was attempted with success by Dionysius in Rome may have been similarly tried in India at about the same time and with an equally remarkable success.

Subsequent discoveries have however now made it clear that the Vikrama era was not started in 544 A.D. and antedated by six centuries. For we have now discovered a large number of inscriptions proving that an era started at c. 57 B.C. was in vogue at least from the 3rd century A.D.; but it is by no means certain as to who started it and why. The name of Vikrama is not associated with it for about eight centuries.

The traditional view is that king Vikrama started the era in 57 B.C. to commemorate his victory over the Śakas, If this theory is to be accepted, we must prove that the era was all along known as Vikrama era, that there was a king named Vikrama at Ujjayinī and that the Śakas were expelled by him from that city at about the middle of the first century B.C.

There is now almost a concensus of opinion about the possibility of a Śaka attack on Ujjayinī in c. 60 B.C The Śakas had penetrated and settled in Śakasthāna by c. 120 B.C.; later on they gradually infiltrated into the Indus valley and spread further northwards. The Saka kings Maues, Azes and Azilizes were powerful monarchs ruling over the Punjab and the Indus valley. The author of the Periplus has noted how Sindh was known as Indo-Scutia by the middle of the 1st century A D. It is true that we have not yet found any Śaka coins or inscriptions in Kathiawar or Gujarat referable to c 50 B.C. but there is nothing improbable in a Saka chief of Sindh having attempted the capture of Ujjayinī by the middle of the 1st century B.C. The Jain tradition recorded in several Kālakācārya stories of a Śaka chief of Sindh having first occupied Kathiawar and then attacked Gujarat and Mālwā may therefore be true. An exactly similar development took place about 800 years later. Muslims first occupied Sindh in 712 A.D.; then they proceeded to attack the Saindhavas of Kathiawar in c. 725 and a little later the Cālukyas of Gujarat, who however repulsed them at Naosari in 739. The Muslim raid over Gujarat was an ephemeral success; the same seems to have been the case with the Saka capture of Ujjayinī. Even after the raid on Naosari was repulsed by the Cālukyas, the Muslim governor of Sindh continued to attack the Saindhava kingdom of Bhumillikā (*E. I.*, XXV, 189 ff) According to one version of the Kālaka story the Śakas could hold Ujjayinī only for four years, according to another

for a few years. Though there is yet no archaeological evidence to prove the Śaka penetration to Ujjayinī by way of Sindh and Gujarat, we may concede its possibility in the light of the literary evidence of the Kālakācārya cycle of stories and the evidence of the *Periplus*.

After conceding the possibility first of the Śaka occupation of Ujjayinī and then of their expulsion by *c.* 50 B. C., the next question arises as to who was responsible for this latter achievement and whether an era was started to commemorate it. A widely accepted tradition in India maintains that it was king Vikramāditya who drove out the Sakas, and that he started the Vikrama era to commemorate the event. Let us now see how far it can stand the test of scrutiny by the usual historical canons.

It is now well known that there is fairly conclusive evidence to show that an era was current in Central India and Mālwā at least from 226 A.D., the date of the Nāndsā inscription (*E.I.*, XXVII, 252), and its starting year can be reasonably presumed to be 56 B. C. If this era were throughout known as Vikrama era, then there could have been hardly any problem to solve. Most historians would have conceded the claim of king Vikrama being the founder of this era, even if there were no clear evidence about his existence at *c.* 60 B. C. As it is we find that the era had three different names; in its earliest period, so far as we know at present, it was known as the Kṛta era, then it was designated as Mālava era, and finally towards the end of the 9th century A. D it began to be gradually known as the Vikrama era. If a king named Vikrama had really started the era, why should it not have been known by his name from the earliest time ?

Kielhorn has analysed the epigraphical data about the use of the Vikrama era (*I.A*, XX, pp 403-4) and shown that for many centuries it was denoted simply by the term Saṁvat. It has been argued by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[1] that this circumstance need not be regarded as inconsistent with its being founded by king Vikrama, for other eras were also generally designated simply by the terms *saṁ* or *varshe*. The term Śaka was used in connection with the Saka era only 500 years after its starting; in the case of the Gupta era, out of the first fifty cases of its uses, only three refer to the era as Gupta-kāla, the remaining 47 designate its as simply *saṁvat*, *varsha* or *abda*. This, however, is not a strong argument. Were the Vikrama era given no proper name in early times and described simply as *saṁvat* throughout, we could have argued that it might have been started by Vikrama, but was not given its proper name for several centuries. We however find from epigraphical analysis that the era was given a

1. *Vikrama Volumes*, published by Ujjain Scindia Institue, p. 291-300.

proper name in early times, and that it was sometimes called Kṛta and sometimes Mālava. There are 62 inscriptions of this era issued during its first thousand years; out of these in fifty cases it was designated simply as *saṁvat*, in three cases as Mālava, in seven cases as Kṛta, in three cases as both Kṛta and Mālava and in two cases only as Vikrama.[1] Were the name Vikrama associated with it in the earliest two cases of its use, we could have argued that its original name was Vikrama, because it was founded by or named after that king in the earliest period and that it later changed its name. In the case of the use of the Gupta era the first name associated with it is the Gupta era, and it was given as early as the year 61 of that era (*E.I.*, XXI, 8). It was later termed as Valabhi in Kathiawar, because it was used by that dynasty ruling there. But such is not the case with the Vikrama era; the name Vikrama became associated with the era only towards the end of the 9th century, and then only two inscriptions out of 34 of that century give it that name; it was not at all known in earlier centuries. Out of the 18 inscriptions of the use of this era in its first eight centuries, seven describe it as mere Saṁvat, two as Mālava-kāla, three as both Mālava and Kṛta and seven as Kṛta only. There is absolutely no doubt that the earliest name of the era was Kṛta, for it was known by no other name during its four centuries. In its fifth century, it was called sometimes as Kṛta and sometimes both as Kṛta and Mālava. During its years 500 to 800, a proper name was rarely associated with this era; both the names Kṛta and Mālava went out of vogue even in Rajputana. Out of the 18 known records of this period one desribes it as Mālava, one as Vikrama and 16 call it as Saṁvat only. Even when the name Vikrama was given to the era towards the end of the 9th century and the era was described as Vikrama-kāla, the name did not become popular for some time. Out of the 34 inscriptions of the 10th century, 32 describe it simply as Saṁvat, one as Mālaveśa-kāla and only one as Vikrama-kāla. Even when the name of Vikrama was given to the era, no royal titles were associated with it for more than a century. During the 10th century the era was called simply as Vikrama-kāla; in the 11th century out of the four instances where the era is named, two describe its founder simply as Vikrama and two as king Vikrama and two as king Vikrama or Vikramāditya. During the 12th century, 9 records describe it as Vikrama-kāla and 10 associate royal titles with the name. Later on Vikrama began to be usually designated as king. The problem for those who advocate that king Vikrama had founded the era is to explain as to why his name should have been associated with it only 798 years after its starting and as to why it should have been known

1. Data collected from List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from Northern India (as brought upto date), *E. I.* XIX-XXII.

first as Kṛta, then as Mālava and lastly as Vikrama. It is possible to argue that the name by which the era was known in its first two centuries was Vikrama and that it was later changed into Kṛta, and later still into Mālava But there is no evidence yet to substantiate this possibility.

Let us now see whether there is any evidence to prove that a king named Vikrama did rule in Mālwā in the first century B.C. and whether he founded an era known after him.

There are two literary traditions attesting to the existence of king Vikrama in the first century B. C. The first of these is the one recorded in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. It tells us that there was a king named Mahendrāditya at Ujjayinī, who got a son named Vikramāditya through the favour of Siva. His dominion was invaded by the Sakas, and he was probably defeated. We are, however, informed that his son Vikramāditya drove out the Sakas, founded an era and then conquered a number of rulers like king Saktikumāra of Gauḍa, Vijayavarman of Lāṭa, Gopāla of Sindha, Jayadhvaja of Karnāṭaka, Sunandana of Kashmir and Nirmuka of the Pārāsīkas (*KSS.*, Chaps. 120-122).

The account of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* does not inspire much confidence. Sober history so far does not know of the above kings as ruling in the different parts of India by *c.* 50 B. C. Had the work stated how Vikrama defeated in the course of his *digvijaya* the Sātavāhanas, the Kaṇvas, the Yaudhayas, the Arjunāyanas, the Vatsas, and so on, we could have reasonably accepted the historicity of the tradition, because these dynasties are known to have flourished by the middle of the first century B.C.

More important is the evidence of the Jain tradition as recorded in the Paṭṭāvalis and in the Kālakācārya cycle of stories. Traditional verses written in archaic Prakrit are quoted by medieval Jain writers like Merutuṅga, and they give us a regular and fairly reliable history from the death of Mahāvīra to the foundation of the Vikrama era. The Tapāgaccha Paṭṭāvalī tell us how Pālaka ruled for sixty years after the death of Mahāvīra (527-467 B.C.), how then the Nanda and Maurya supremacy lasted for 155 and 108 years respectively, how Pushyamitra, Balamitra and Nabhovāhana then ruled for 30, 6, and 40 years. Then came Gardabhila dynasty in 61 B. C. Gardabhila himself was expelled by the Śakas, but his son Vikramāditya drove out the enemy in 57 B. C. and founded the Vikrama era. Vikramāditya ruled for 60 years and his four successors for 75 years. The dynasty was overthrown by the Sakas in 78 A. D., who then founded the Saka era.

I would at once concede that if the antiquity of this *entire* tradition can be taken back to the pre-Gupta period, say to 300

A.D. the historicity of Vikrama would be reasonably established. We shall then have to suppose that for some reasons not yet known to us, the name of the era was changed to Kṛta in *c.* 200 A.D. and to Mālava still later.

Let us therefore see whether this *entire* tradition can go back to *c.* 300 A.D. This is difficult to prove. All the Jain Paṭṭāvalis which refer to the foundation of the Vikrama era in 57 B.C. are later than the 12th century A. D. Had these verses occurred in any canonical work, the text of which was settled at the Valabhi council in 527 A.D., we could have accepted their evidence in proving the existence of king Vikrama in *c.* 57 B.C. There are only two Jain lists, which go back to this age and *both of them do not contain these verses.* Neither the Sthavirāvali of the Kalpasūtra composed in the Ist century A.D. nor the Paṭṭāvali in the Nandisūtra composed by Devardhigaṇin in the 6th century, contain these verses.[1] It is difficult to understand why these verses should begin to appear in works written only after the popularisation of the name of the Vikrama era.

As regards the *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka* we have to note that it has got several versions ; but all those which refer to Vikramāditya as the founder of the era, are later than the 12th century when the name Vikrama had already become connected with the era. None of the versions, given by Dr. N. Brown in his *Story of Kālaka*, is earlier than 1335 A.D. ; and yet many of them do not contain any reference to the Vikrama episode. Thus the first anonymous version of Brown brings down the story to the overthrow of Gardabhila, points out how the Saka dynasty was established and ends by saying *sā bhagiṇī saṁjama puṇo thāviya,* p. 72, 'The Sūri reestablished his sister in discipline.' It then describes how Kālaka went to Bhṛgukaccha.[1]

The same is the case with the version of Bhadreśvara-Sūri and Dharmaprabha-Sūri belonging to the 13th century ; see its verse 82.[2]

In the Kālakācārya-Kathāsaṅgraha edited by Mr. Nabob, we have some versions of the earlier period. The *Nisṭhācūrṇi* of Jinadāsamahattara, dated in Saṁvat 733 ends thus : '*Sovi Gaddabhilo abalo ummilio. Gahiya Ujjeni. Bhagini punarapi saṁyame thaviya*' (p.2). Then the change of the date of Paryuṣaṇa is discussed.

The *cūrṇis* attached to *Bṛihatkalpa* and *Vyavahāra* also mention the capture of Ujjayanī by the Śaka king but are also silent about his overthrow by Vikrama. Indeed one would hardly

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1. Darśanavijaya, *Paṭṭāvali-samuccaya*, Part I, Nos. 1–2.
2. Brown : *The Story of Kālaka*, p. 44.
3. *Ibid*, p. 76.

expect the Jain authors to go out of their way to mention how the Śaka king, whom they had invited, was overthrown by Vikramāditya. Even among the 24 versions written after the 13th century, we find that 16 versions do not refer to the foundation of the Vikrama era. Devendra, Bhavadeva, Dharmaprabha, Vijayacandra, Prabhācandra, Mānikyacandra, Devaloka etc. refer to the foundation of the Vikrama era, but Bhadreśvara, Dharmaghosha, Jayananda, Kalyāṇatilaka, Rāmabhadra, Vinayacandra, Maheśvara, Gaṇarāgi, Rāmacandra, Subhāśita etc. are altogether silent about Vikrama's victory over the Śakas and the foundation of the era named after him.

The testimony of the Jain *Harivaṁśa* is very significant in this connection. This work was written in the Rāshṭrakūṭa court in 783 A.D. and we have so far no evidence to show that the name of Vikrama was associated with the era at that time. Now chapter 60 vv. 448-49 of this work give us the royal succession as follows :—

Pālaka	...	60 years.
Vijaya kings	...	155 years.
Purindha	...	41 years.
Puṣyamitra	...	31 years.
Vasumitra and Agnimitra	...	60 years.
Rāsabha	...	100 years.
Naravāhana	...	42 years.
		419 years.

But the *Harivaṁśa* does not at all refer to the foundation of the Vikrama era some years after the Rāsabha kings. This omission is indeed significant.

The earliest reference to the Vikrama episode is in the version of the Kālaka story by Devendra-sūri, the preceptor of Hemacandra, who flourished in *c.* 1050 A.D. Here we read—

सगकुलाओ जेणं समागया तेण ते सगा जाया ।
एवं सगराईणं एसो वंसो समुप्पण्णो ॥
जिन सासणोण्णइपराण ताण कालो सुहेण परिगलई ।
सूरियपयपउमगब्मे लप्पयलीलं कुणंताणं ॥
कालंतरेण केणइ उप्पाडेत्वा सगाण तं वंसं ।
जाओ मालवराया णामेण विक्कमाइच्चो ॥
तस्स पि वंसं उप्पाडिऊण जाणो पुणोपि सगराजा ।
उज्जेणिपुरिवरीए पयपंकजपयणसामंतो ॥
पणतीसे वाससए विक्कमसंवच्छराओ ओलीणे ।

परिवत्तिऊण ठविओ जेणं संवच्छरो णियमो ॥
सगकालजाणणात्थं एयं पासंगिकं समक्खायं ।
मूलकहासंबद्धं पयग इव भण्णए इण्हिम् ॥
कालयसूरीहि तओ सा भइणी संजमे पुणो ठविय ।

But here also it is distinctly stated that the account about the Saka and the Vikrama eras is an *obiter dicta* to enable the readers to know who founded them and when. The account breaks the narrative and is introduced quite abruptly between the defeat of the Rāsabha king and the reestablishment of Sarasvatī in the nunnery.

To conclude, we have yet to discover a Jain work written before 898 V. E. (when we know that the name Vikrama was first associated with the era in epigraphs), which mentions Vikrama as the founder of the Vikrama era. The early Paṭṭāvalis indisputably written before the 8th century do not refer to the foundation of the Vikrama era, nor do the versions of the Kālaka stories in the *cūrṇis*. It is of course possible to assume that the verses referring to the era are traditional ones and may have been current as early as the 2nd or 3rd century A. D., though they were included in Jain works in later times, and that the non-mention of the Vikrama era in the *Harivaṁsa* of Jinasena in the traditional verses may be quite accidental. But all may not agree in this hypothesis. It can be argued with greater force that the verses are not there in the earlier works, because they did not exist.

Let us examine other sources of history of the 1st century B. C. to see what they say about the history of Ujjayinī. Epigraphs of course do not refer to any king named Vikrama at Ujjayinī in the first century B. C. The Chinese traveller Yuān Chuwāng gives us some historical information about Mālwā but does not refer to any king named Vikramāditya as belonging to that place.

The Purāṇas also are silent upon the point and this silence is rather significant. They mention several kings of Vidiśā who ruled just after the downfall of the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas like Seṣa, Bhogi, Sadācandra, Nakhavāhana, Dhanavarmā Bhūtinsnda, Satānanda etc., but do not mention any Vikrama.[1] They mention a foreign ruler of Maheśvara named Saka[2], but are silent about Vikramāditya. The dynasty of king Gardabhila is also mentioned by the Purāṇas,—*Sapta Gardabhilāścāpi Śakāścāstadaśaiva tu*,—but any king named Vikramāditya as belonging to the Gardabhila house is unknown to them. If king Vikrama had belonged to the

1. One of the versions of the Purāṇas gives Vakramitra as the alternative name of king Vajramitra of the Śuṅga dynasty. This is obviously a misreading nor can it be identified with Vikramāditya.

2. Pargiter : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 49-51.

Gardabhila dynasty, one is at a loss to know why he should not have been at least mentioned by the Paurānic writers, when they refer to his dynasty. It may be pointed out that the Purāṇas have given us a large number of the names of historic kings who ruled from *c.* 300 B. C. to 300 A. D. The name of Vikrama is conspicuous by its absence among them[3].

Indisputable historical evidence shows that the Mālavas, after whom the Vikrama era was once named, had an oligarchical or republican constitution. At the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, they were occupying the southern Punjab from Lahore to Multan. Later on they moved southwards and occupied central Rajputana, as is shown by the discovery of thousands of Malava coins at Nagar, 25 miles south-east of Tonk,[1] and of the Yūpa inscription of Mālava chief Śrīsoma at Nāndsā in Sahara district of the former Udaipur State.[2] Later on the Mālvas migrated still southwards, occupied present Mālwā and gave it their name. This may have occured in the 1st century B.C. It is possible that Ujjayinī was not occupied by the Mālvas by 56 B.C. and had a royal dynasty before that date. Is it possible that the Rāsabha dynasty of the Purāṇas might have been ousted by the Śakas in *c* 75 B C., and that the latter might have been expelled by the Mālavas, who might have carried their plan of occupying modern Mālwā, when they found the territory conquered by unwelcome foreigners ?

There is a strange uncertainty about the parentage of Vikrama in the folklore tradition that has been handed down to us both in the Jain and Hindu literature. According to *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* he was the son of King Mahendrāditya; according to the *Prabhāvakacaritam* he was the son of Gardabhila; according to *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* he was the son of Gandharvasena[1] and according to *Dvātriṁśatputtalikā* he was the son of Gandharva in the form of a donkey.[5] Some versions of the *Kālakācāryakathā* simply state that after some years, Vikramāditya overthrew the Śakas and do not give us any information about his connection with king Gardabhila. One Jain tradition describes him as of Hūṇa stock[6] and several stories state that he was the son of a widow.

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1. Can it be that Vikrama was the name or *biruda* of an illegitimate son that may have been possibly born to Gardabhila from the nun Sarasvatī and that he might have avenged his father by driving out the Śakas ? Being an illegitimate son, he might have been omitted by the Purāṇas.

2. V. A. Smith ; *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum,* pp. 161 ff.

3. *E.I.*, XXVII, pp 252 ff.

4. Quoted in *Vikrama Volume* (English), Ujjain. p. 126.

5. At a village called Gandhavaka in Ujjayinī District, there is still a temple of Gandharvasena, where the image has the face of a donkey. *Vikrama-smṛti* (Marathi), p. 170 and Plate.

6. हूणवंशे समुत्पन्नो विक्रमादित्यभूपतिः । *Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha,* Vikramārkaprabandha.

All these traditions suggest that the hero who drove out the Śakas from Ujjayinī was perhaps not a scion of any well-established royal family. It appears not impossible that he might have been a member of the Mālava tribe or clan or republic, perhaps its general, directing operations against the Śakas. This is rendered somewhat probable by the mythological account given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. We are told there that Vikramāditya was an incarnation of a Gaṇa of Śiva named Mālyavat, who was sent down to the earth to drive out the Mlecchas or the foreigners. Now the Purāṇas have given us detailed account of the Gaṇas of Śiva in several places; they tell us that they were all terrible, some having the face of tigers, others of lions, still others of bears, donkeys and so on. They were Śiva's agents of destruction and their names are also suggestive of their functions; cf. for instance Jvālakeśa, Kapālīśa, Agnikṛt, Mahākaṅkāla, etc. Mālyavat as the name of a Gaṇa figures nowhere in the enumeration. Mālyavat Gaṇa is not at all known to *Skanda-Purāṇa Śiva-Purāṇa, Rudra-Purāṇa* and *Liṅga-Purāṇa*. It is quite possible that the oral tradition in the days of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* connected Vikrama with the Mālava-gaṇa. Gaṇa as a republican constitution was unfamiliar to the 11th century and therefore, the connection of the conqueror of the Sakas with the Mālavagaṇa was perhaps mythologically represented by saying that Vikrama was an incarnation of Mālyavat, a Gaṇa of Śiva. To connect Mālyavat Gaṇa of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* with Mālava Gaṇa however appears a little far fetched though philologically quite possible.

Have we got any eras in ancient India named after individual kings? The Yadhiṣṭhira era is not at all a historical one; it was more commonly known as Kaliyuga era. Some believe that there was a Maurya era or Muriya-kāla; if so, we have to observe that it was known after a dynasty and not after a king. We have got the Śaka era; it was not named after any king like Kaniṣka or Wima Kadphises or Nahapāṇa or Caṣṭana, but after the tribe. We have got the Gupta, the Gaṅga and the Valabhi eras. These also are known after the dynasties and not after any celebrated kings. If Harsha had founded an era, it has to be noted that it is nowhere described as Harsha era in any records that have been ascribed to it. Before the time of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, we have no instance of an era being named after a king. Early eras were generally known after the houses of their founders.

Now supposing we assume that Vikrama, the general of the Mālava-gaṇa, had played a memorable part in driving out the Sakas, and supposing that the Mālavas had decided to commemorate the event by founding an era, could they have named it after a general of theirs? The Nāndsā Yūpa inscriptions show that by the 3rd century A.D. the leadership of several clans of the Mālavas had

become hereditary; but they were not prepared to sanction royal titles to any of them Soma, his father Jayasoma and grandfather Prabhāgravardhana had none of them any royal titles; Soma seems to have been given the title of *senāpati* only, though he had secured a memorable victory over the Sakas. If even monarchical states like those of the Śakas, the Guptas and the Gaṅgas did not care to christian the eras started by them after the names of the kings who had started them, it is doubtful if the republican traditions would have favoured the naming of an era after Vikrama, assuming he was their general, who had driven out the Sakas. And supposing it was so named, why should that name have gone out of vogue for eight centuries?

There is no doubt that an era was founded in 57 B. C. but it is doubtful whether it bore the name of Vikrama at the outset. The earliest name of the era is Kṛta, but it must be confessed that we have not yet been able to explain it satisfactorily. I had once pointed out how Kṛta was a common proper name and suggested that the Mālava general, who defeated the Śakas, might have borne that name.[1] This is possible, but in view of no early era being named after an individual ruler, I am now less enthusiastic in accepting this theory. It has been suggested that Kṛta might have been the Hinduised form of the Śaka or Pārthian name of the king who started the era in the Punjab in 57 B.C, but we know of no such name from coins or inscriptions. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had thought that the overthrow of the Śakas was regarded as harbingering the Kṛtayuge, and so the era was named as Kṛta era. The Dharmasūtras, the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* all grow eloquent in describing the evils of the Kali age; they emphatically state that it is to last for several thousands of years. It is, therefore, difficult to believe whether the era could have been named as Kṛta because some people believed it to be the beginning of Kṛta Yuga. It is argued that the era was called Krta because it was an artificial era. But all eras are artificial in the sense in which the Kṛta era was. It has been suggested that the Kṛta era was so named because it was first started by the Kaṭhas, who were the allies of the Mālavas in driving out the Śakas. It is argued that the Kaṭhas of the Punjab migrated to Rājputānā along with the Mālavas and settled down in their vicinity; the kingdom of Kita mentioned by Yuan Chuang being 60 miles north-west of Mālwā is the region occupied by this tribe. Kita kingdom is however described as Kiecha kingdom by Beal, the letters *ta* and *cha* being similar in Chinese. There is however, no evidence to show that Kaṭhas had migrated to Rājputānā.

The references to the name Kṛta in the inscriptions are so scanty and enigmatical, that one can hardly probe into the origin

1. See my paper in *Nagarī Pracarinī Patrika*, Vikramāṅka, Saṁvat, 2000.

of the name. They are (i *Kṛtayordvayoḥ* (ii) *Kṛtehi* and (iii) *Kṛteshu* ; we can harldy get any clue to the meaning of the word Kṛta from them. The Mandsore inscription is however, a little more helpful ; it says '*Śrī-Mālavagaṇāmnāte praśaste kṛtasaṁjñite.*' From this line we can confidently conclude that the era was given the *saṁjñā* or proper name of Kṛta, whatever may be the cause. The line further says that it was *āmnāta* or current in the Mālava republic. Another Mandsore insciiption states that the era was connected with *Mālavānāṁ gaṇasthityā,* whatever that statement may mean. It is argued that *gaṇasthiti* may be denoting the republican constitution of the Mālavas, but their republican constitution was much earlier than 57 B.C., as the Mālavas were a republic even in the fourth century B.C. It is quite possible that *sthiti* may mean settlement and the era may have been started to commemorate the settlement of the Mālavas in their new home in modern Mālwā. It must be howevei pointed out that so far no instance is known of an era being founded to commemorate the occupation of a country. We can only say that somehow or other, a reckoning got established among the Mālvas from 57 B.C ; for some mysterious reasons it was called Kṛta in the beginning and later it was named as Mālava era. The Mālavas had no monarchical constitution and so the era was not associated with any king. It was described as *Śrī Mālavagaṇāmnāte, Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā Mālaaānaṁ ganāmnate.* It is only in late inscriptions like Kanswa record of V.E. 798 that the era is connected with the kings or rulers of Mālwā.

It is interesting to note that the early inscriptions of this era down to Saṁvat 525 were keen to name the era either as Kṛta or as Mālava. There are 12 instances of the use of the era down to 500 A. D. ; in none of them is the era described simply as *Saṁvat* or *Varshe.* It is expressly described as Kṛta or Mālava. After 525, the era suddenly looses its pioper name. During the period of 370 years, from 525 to 895 V. E., we have 18 genuine records; only two of them describe the era as *Mālava-kāla* and the remaining sixteen designate it simply as *Saṁvat.* For some reason or other the name Kṛita went out of fashion ; the name Mālava also became unpopular and people perferred to call the era simply as *Saṁvat.* The reason is not difficult to conjecture. The Mālavas, who were the sponsors of the era, ceased to be a political force, even in Rājputānā ; very few knew much about them and so people preferred to drop a name which had then no significance. The era was getting popular outside Mālwā also. It had begun to be used as far as Gwalior, Bundelkhand and Gaya, and it was common in Gujarat and Kāthiāwār. People in these areas did not know much about the connection of the era with the Mālavas and preferred to call it simply as *Saṁvat.* Gradually, however, the need for a proper name for the *Saṁvat* was felt, and the era began to be associated with Vikrama in some quarters,

probably because it was a *biruda* of Candragupta II, the exterminator of the Sakas of Ujjayinī, or of Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya, the repeller of the Hūṇas; see *ante* p. . The new name however did not immediately become popular. There are 50 dated inscriptions between V. E. 1100 and 1215; and only seven of them associate the name of Vikrama with the era. There are 50 inscriptions dated during the next 50 years, 1215-1265, and 14 of them name the era as Vikrama. The percentage does not increase during the next century. Gradually, however, the name began to be more and more popular and eventually it was universally accepted for the era after the 16th century A. D.

Unless we get records of the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. which describe the era as Vikrama era, it will be difficult to accept the popular view that it was founded by a king of that name ruling at Ujjayinī by the middle of the first century B. C. Vikrama era still continues to be a riddle.

THE EMPIRE OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI

By

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There are several problems yet to be solved concerning Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the greatest of the later Sātavāhana kings. One of these problems relates to the extent of his empire. An attempt is made in this paper to examine the views held by certain scholars in this connection and to offer an alternative view with the aid of numismatic material recently brought to light.

Dr. D. C. Sirkar says "The direct rule of this king seems to have extended over the whole land from the Krishna in the south to Mālwā and Kathiawar in the north and from Berar in the east to the Konkan in the west".[1] According to Dr. Gopalachari[2] "There is...no epigraphic evidence to show that Gautamīputra's sway extended over Āndhradeśa". It follows from the views of these two writers that south-western, southern, eastern and central Dekkan was outside the empire of this Sātavāhana king and that his rule was confined to northern Maharashtra, Kathiawar, Gujarat, part of Rajputana and Mālwā. These views require careful examination.

The main sources of information relied upon by scholars in determining the extent of the empire of Sātakarṇi are the inscriptions and coins of the Kṣaharāta king Nahapāṇa, and his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta on the one hand and the inscriptions of Sātakarṇi and one inscription of his son Puḷumāvi on the other. The inscription of Puḷumāvi[3] is dated in the 19th year of his reign and contains a *praśasti* of his father. It is stated therein that Sātakarṇi was the king of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suraṭha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Ākarāvantī. Rapson locates[4] Asika and Asaka on the upper Godavari, Mulaka round about modern Paithan and identifies Suraṭha with Kathiawar, Kukura with eastern Rajputana, Aparānta with northern Konkan, Anūpa with a district on the upper Narmadā contiguous with Suraṭha, Vidarbha with Berar and Ākarāvantī with Mālwā. Dr. Gopalachari identified[5] Asaka and Mulaka with the Nasik district and the territory round Paithan and Asika and Knkura with eastern Rajputana. Dr. Sircar read Ṛṣika

1. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 201.
2. *Early History of Āndhradeśa*, pp. 62-63.
3. *E. I.* VIII, Nasik Ins. no. 2.
4. *BMC*, Intro. pp. xxx-xxxv.
5. *Earl. Hist. Āndhr.* p. 62. note 75.

for Asika and idenfied it with the district round Ṛṣikanagara on the Krishna and Aśmaka with the territory about Bodhān in the former Hyderabad State.[1]

It is generally agreed that the Kṣaharāta king Nahapāṇa preceded Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and that the latter exterminated the Kṣaharāṭa family and conquered its dominions. Coins of Nahapāṇa and inscriptions of his son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta, indicate that the dominions of Nahapāṇa included the Ajmer, Nasik and Poona districts, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Northern Konkan and Mālwā[2]. A comparison of this list with that of the countries enumerated in the inscription of Puḷumāvi mentioned above, shows that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi conquered from the Kṣaharātas Gujarat Saurāṣṭra, Anūpa, Aparānta, Ākarāvantī and the Nasik and Poona districts in which his inscriptions are found. His earliest inscription in northern Maharashtra is dated in the 18th year of his reign.[3] The conquest of this region must therefore have been completed by that year.

The Nasik inscription of Puḷumāvi referred to above, mentions some more countries besides those enumerated above and which were conquered from the Kṣaharātas. These countries are Asaka, Assaka or Aśmaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha.[4] These regions constitute a large area containing the contiguous districts of Nasik, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Nizamabad, Adilabad and Berar. What was the position of this block of territory? Was it conquered by Sātakarṇi along with the other regions taken from the Kṣaharātas? There is no trace of Kṣaharāta rule in these districts. Obviously, they were not included in the Kṣaharāta dominion. Their mention together with the Kṣaharāta dominions implies that they were fresh conquests made by the Sātavāhana king.

Many lead and potin coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Puḷumāvi, Sātakarṇi IV, and Śrī Yajña have been obtained from the excavations at Koṇḍāpuram[5] in the Medak district of the Hyderabad State. Many such coins have also been obtained from the contiguous districts of Nalgonda, Warangal and Karimnagar, all in the Telangana part of the Hyderabad State,[6] situated to

1. *Age. Imp. Uni.* p. 201.
2. *Ibd,* pp. 180-181.
3. *E. I.* VIII, Nasik Ins. 4.
4. Dr. D. C. Sircar locates Asaka round Bodhān and Mulaka round Paithan in the Aurangabad district of the Hyderabad State. The districts of Parbhani and Nanded are in between Aurangabad and Nizamabad and Adilabad between Berar and Nizamabad. These are parts of the Telangana part of Āndhradeśa and must have been included in the dominions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
5. *ABORI.* XXII. pp. 171-185 pls. 14 and 15.
6. A Catalogue of these coins in the Hyderabad Museum prepared by me is ready and will be shortly published.

the west of the eastern Ghats. A large number of lead coins of the Caitya and elephant types belonging to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Puḷumāvi and other later Sātavāhana rulers obtained in the districts of Krishna and Guntūr on the other side of the ėastern Ghats have been published by[1] Rapson, Rea[2] and myself.[3] Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi used the obverse device of Caitya of three, six and ten arches and the reverse device of Ujjain symbol with and without other symbols in restriking the silver coins of the Kṣaharāta king Nahapāṇa.[4] This indicates that coins of these obverse and reverse devices were in circulation in the dominions of this Sātakarṇi before the time of the restriking of Nahapāṇa's coins. It follows that the dominions, besides those taken from the Kṣaharāṭa family, were his original empire. Caitya coins of all the three varieties mentioned above have been obtained exclusively from the Krishna and Guntur districts of coastal Āndhradeśa.[5] These facts lead to the irresistible conclusion that the Telugu districts on either side of the Central part of the ėastern Ghats formed the original part of the empire of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

A good number of large lead coins have been obtained from Brahmapurī on the outskirts of Kolhāpur. Among them are found the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Puḷumāvi, Sātakarṇi IV and Śrī Yajña,[6] along with those belonging to three independent rulers of the "Kura" family. The discovery of the Sātavāhana and Kura coins together proves beyond doubt that the Kolhapur region or southern Maharashtra was once under the rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Puḷumāvi. In all probability this Sātakarṇi conquered it from the ancestors of the three Kura kings.

A Nasik inscription dated in the 18th year of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi contains an order issued by the monarch from a military camp at Vaijayanti in the north Kanara district.[7] Coins obtained from this district[8] and the adjoining district of Chitaldurg in the Mysore State[9] show that two rulers of the "Ānanda" family were ruling in this region before the later Sātavāhanas. It is very likely that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi conquered this region from

1. *BMCAK* p. lxxix
2. *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, see Gudivada coins.
3. *Some Sātavāhana coins* in *JDHC* II-2.
4. *JBRAS*, XXII, pp. 223-243 pl. I and IV.
5. See my note on these coins in the *JNSI* Vol. XVII.
6. See *Some Sātavāhana Coins* in *JDHC* II-2.
7. All scholars accept this view but Dr. D. C. Sircar does not see Vaijayanti in this inscription.
8. *BMC* pp. 59-60 and pl. VIII.
9. *Ancient India* no. 4 pl. XXIII and Supplement to the *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1923.

the Ānandas. The find of the coins of his son Puḷumāvi's[1] at Chandravalli supports this conjecture.

Lead coins of the horse type containing the legend of Gautamīputra have been obtained from the Cudappah and Anantapur districts of Āndhradēśa.[2] The characters of these legends resemble vary closely those found on the coins of Gautmīputra Sātakarṇi. This indicates that these two districts were also under the rule of this king.

Dr. Sircar reads Asika of the Nasik inscription of Puḷumāvi as Ṛṣika and locates it on the Krishna. This must be the same city which was threatened by the armies of Khāravaela of Kaliṅga after reaching the Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā. Some scholars have suggested the alternative reading Masikanagara which may be taken to be identical with Maski in the Raichur district of the Hyderabad State.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is described in the Nasik inscription of his son as the "lord" or *pati* of some mountains, Vijha, identified with the central and eastern ranges of the Vindhyas and the Satpuras as well; Chavata or Ṛkṣavata identified with the Vindhyan ranges to the south of Mālwā : Pārichata or Pāriyātra, identified with the western ranges of the Vindhyas as well as the Āravalis; Sahya, or the Western Ghats to the north of the Nilgiries; Malaya, or the Travancore hills and Mahendra, identified with the eastern Ghats[3]. Other hills mentioned in the inscription but left over by both Drs. Sirkar and Gopalachari are Macha, Kaṇhagiri, Seṭagiri Siriṭhana and Cakora. Of these Rapson identified Kaṇhagiri with the Kanheri hills near Bombay[4]. Siriṭhana has been identified by Bhandarkar with Srīparvata[5] while Cakora, often mentioned in association with Srīparvata[6], is also considered to have been in the same locality. Thus the three principal hill ranges of south India, the Vindhyas, the Western Ghats and the Eastern Ghats are mentioned in this inscription. Dr. Gopalachari says that the extent of the way of Gautamīputra is indicated by the mountains of which he is said to be the lord but identifies only the Vindhyas, Sātpuras, Sahyas and Malayas omitting the other hills mentioned in the inscription and jumps to the conclusion that Andhradēśa was not included in the dominions of this king[7]. Dr. Sircar identified Mahendra with the Eastern Ghats[8] but omitted Cakōra and Siriṭhana. These are serious

1. *Ibid.*
2. *BMC* pl. VI. nos. 148, G. P. 6, G. P. 7, and pl. VII, nos. 165 and G. P. I.
3. *Earl. Hist. Andhr.* p. 62 ; *Age. Imp. Uni.* pp. 201-202.
4. *BMC*, Intro. p. xxxiii.
5. *Transactions of the International Oriental Congress* 1874, p. 308.
6. *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* p. lvii. 16.
7. *Earl. Hist. Andhr.* p. 62
8. *Age. Imp. Uni.* p. 202.

omissions. Both the writers hold that the list of mountains indicates Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's conventional claim to suzerainty over the trans-Vindhyan region. Since we have already shown above that Sātakarṇi conquered the Chitaldurg region he could justifiably call himself the lord of Malaya. Since the entire Maharashtra country and northern Konkan were under him, he could be the lord of Sahya and Kaṇhagiri. Since he was the ruler of Kukura and Ākarāvantī, he could be the lord of the Vindhyas and Sātpuras. Since his coins have been found in Teḷingana and coastal Andhra, he could as well be the lord of Maḥēndra-Cakōra-Siriṭhana. Thus Sātakarṇi's claim of suzerainty over the trans-Vindhyan region was not based upon any convention but upon cold reality.

Thus numismatic evidence of an unquestionable nature taken together with epigraphic evidence shows beyond any doubt that the empire of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi consisted of more or less the entire Dekkan and that it was not confined to the narrow limits of northern Maharashtra, Kathiawar, Gujarat and eastern Rajputana, as is commonly supposed.

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VĀKĀṬAKA PṚTHIVĪṢEṆA, THE SUZERAIN OF VYĀGHRADEVA

By

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Two stone inscriptions of Vyāghradeva, the feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pṛthivīṣeṇa, have been discovered in Central India,—one at Nachne-ki-talāi in the former Jaso State, and the other at Ganj in the former neighbouring State of Ajayagaḍh. The former has been publised by Dr. Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 f., and the latter by Dr. Sukthankar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 12 f. Both the inscriptions are incised in box-headed characters and are written in Sanskrit, their texts being identical. They record that Vyāghradeva, who meditated on the feet of the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Pṛthivīṣeṇa, made something (such as the building of a temple or the excavation of a tank) for the religious merit of his father and mother.

The identification of this Vyāghra and his suzerain, the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣeṇa, has aroused keen controversy during the last more than forty years. When Dr. Fleet edited the Nachnā inscription, only one Pṛthivīṣeṇa of the Vākāṭaka dynasty was known, *viz.*, he who was mentioned in the previously discovered Siwani and Chammak plates as the son of Rudrasena I. Fleet had, therefore, no difficulty in ascribing the record to his reign. Subsequently, another Pṛthivīṣeṇa of the same royal family became known from the Bālāghāṭ plates published by Dr. Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 267 f. He was the great-great-grandson of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I and therefore flourished about a hundred years after the latter. Sukthankar, who edited the Ganj inscription, followed Fleet in ascribing the record to the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil, however, suggested that this Vyāghradeva was identical with the Uccakalpa prince Vyāghra, whose son Jayanātha's grants, found in the same region, are dated in the years 174 and 177, evidently of the Gupta era *i.e.* in A.D. 493 and 496.[1] Vyāghra, the father of Jayanātha, may therefore, have flourished about A.D. 475. His suzerain Pṛthivīṣeṇa must, consequently, be identified with the second Vākāṭaka king of that name, who was the great-grandson of Prabhavatīguptā and therefore flourished about A.D. 475.

There has been a sharp difference of opinion among scholars in regard to the identification of Pṛthivīṣeṇa and his feudatory

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 103.

Vyāghra. Some like S. K. Aiyangar,[1] K. P. Jayaswal,[2] H. C. Raychaudhuri,[3] and A. S. Altekar[4] have supported Fleet's view that this Pṛthivīṣeṇa was the first Vākāṭaka king of that name, while others like K. N. Dikshit,[5] and R. C. Majumdar[6] have endorsed Jouveau Dubreuil's opinion that he was the second homonymous king of that royal family. I have myself examined elsewhere the various arguments advanced in support of the first view and shown how they are untenable.[7] I would not repeat them here, but as recently Dr. D. C. Sircar has reopened the question and advanced what he regards as new evidence in support of that view, I propose to examine it at some length here

In his account of the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family, Sircar has identified the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Pṛthivīṣeṇa, the suzerain of Vyāghradeva, with Pṛthivīṣeṇa I on two grounds—(I) the palaeographic peculiarities of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions, *viz.*, the triangular form of *v* and the old forms of *j* and *t*, are undoubtedly earlier than those exhibited even by the Basim grant of Vindhyaśakti II, a grandson of Pravarasena I; and (II) as pointed out by Dr. H. C. Raychudhuri, from the time of the great grand-father of Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, if not still earlier —down to A. D. 528, the princes of the Bundelkhaṇḍ region in Central India acknowledged the suzerainty not of the Vākāṭakas but of the Gupta Emperors.[8] We shall now proceed to examine these arguments.

(I) Dr. Sircar seems to think that the triangular form of *v* went out of vogue soon after the time of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. The Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions in which this triangular form of the letter has been used cannot, according to him, be referred to the time of Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, when the rectangular form of the letter was in use. This is, however, not borne out by the inscriptions of the age. As a matter of fact, the rectangular form of *v* also had come into vogue even before the time of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I, for it is found used in the Eran stone inscription of Samudragupta; see, e. g. *kula-vadhūḥ* in line 20 and *vicintya* in line 24.[9] On the other hand, the triangular form of *v* did not disappear soon after the age of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I; for we find it used in the Sāñchī inscription of Candragupta II, dated G. E. 93; see e. g. *mahāvihāre* in line 1 and *sarvva-guṇa-* in line 8.[10] Indeed both the rectangular and triangular

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. LV, pp. 223 f.
2. *History of India, 150 A.D.—350 A.D.*, p. 60, n. 2.
3. *P. H. A. I.* (1953), p. 541.
4. *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 109, n. 4.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 362.
6. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol XII (1947), p. 4.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 172 f.; *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 9 f.
8. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 179, n. 1.
9. See plate facing p. 20 in *C.I.I.*, Vol. III.
10. See plate facing p. 28, *ibid.* Vol. III.

forms of *v* continued to be used down to the time of Hariṣeṇa, who is the last known Vākāṭaka king. While the copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭakas and the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā generally use the rectangular form of the letter, its triangular form is noticed in several places in the inscription in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā, which, like that in Cave XVI, belongs to the reign of Hariṣeṇa; see, e. g., *vihāra-* in line 22 and *yāvad-* in line 29.[1] Again, the Poḍāgaḍh inscription of Skandavarman and the Kesaribeḍā plates of Arthapati of the Nala family use the triangular form of *v*; see e. g. *Bhavadattasya* in line 3 and *a-praveśyam* in line 8 of the former[2] and *vibhaḥ* in line 1 and *dhruva-* in line 7 of the latter.[3] The Nala kings Skandavarman and Arthapati did not flourish earlier than Pṛthivīṣeṇa II.[4] It is noteworthy that all the inscriptions mentioned above are, like the Nachnā and Ganj records, incised in box-headed characters. The triangular form of *v* is therefore no indisputable evidence, which compels us to assign the Nachnā and Ganj records to the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. The same can be said of the so-called old forms of the letters *j* and *t*; see, e. g. the form of *j* in *dvijaḥ* in line 2 of the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVI[5] and that of *t* in *jitaṁ* in line 1 of the Poḍāgaḍh inscription. It is true that the form of *v* is more angular in the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions than in the records mentioned above, but it is not unlikely that the writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was influenced by the form of *v* current in that locality. We must note in this connection that the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are the only records in box-headed characters from the Baghelkhaṇḍ region. The standard form of characters current in that locality was nail-headed, as seen in the Majhgawaṁ plates of Hastin[6] and the Bambanī plates of Bharatabala.[7] The writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions were apparently not quite familiar with the box-headed characters[8], though he wrote the records in them to please his Vākāṭaka overlord. He, therefore, unconsciously imitated the form of *v* from the nail-headed alphabet with which he was more familiar. We find an analogous instance in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā.[9] The writer of that grant, who probably hailed from North India, was not quite familiar with the box-headed characters, which were current in Vidarbha. He commenced to write in that script

1. See plate in my edition of the inscription in *H.A.S.*, No. 15.
2. See plate in *Ep Ind*, Vol. XXI.
3. See plate in *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII.
4. Sircar thinks that the Nala king Skandavarman was a contemporary of the Early Cālukya king Kīrtivarman I (A. D. 567-597). *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 189.
5. See plate facing p. 143 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI.
6. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 f. and pl.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 f. and pl.
8. As observed by Sukthankar, the letters of these epigraphs are uncouth in appearance.
9. See plate facing p. 42 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV.

the legend on the seal, but after writing the first four letters *viz.* Vākāṭaka, he gave up the attempt and wrote the remaining legend in nail-headed characters. The triangular form of *v* is, therefore, no sure sign of an early age of these inscriptions. The forms of *j* and *t* also do not preclude the view that these records belong to the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa II.

(II) Let us next consider the second argument of Dr. Sircar. Following Dr. Raychaudhuri, he thinks that the Nachnā and Ganj epigraphs cannot belong to the time of Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, because from the time of Pṛthivīṣeṇa II's great-grandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to A.D. 528, the princes of that region acknowledged the supremacy of the Guptas and not of the Vākāṭakas. This statement also is not borne out by the known records. It is indeed true that the Parivrājaka Mahārājas clearly acknowledge Gupta supremacy in their grants.[1] The earlier princes of the Uccakalpa family may also have been feudatories of the Guptas; for they used the Gupta era in dating their records. But Jayanātha and Śarvanātha, the later princes of this family, make no mention of Gupta supremacy even in general terms[2], as their neighbours, the Parivrājaka princes do in their grants. They had evidently transferred their allegiance to another power. Their use of the Gupta era does not indicate their submission to the Guptas in this period. They continued to use it as it was well established in the country, just as the Sendrakas and the Gujarat Cālukyas continued to use the Ābhīra era even after the downfall of the Ābhīras[3]. There is no inherent impossibility in two friendly powers or their feudatories exercising authority over territories contiguous to each other. Again, the statement in the Eraṇ stone pillar inscription that Suraśmicandra, a feudatory of the Gupta king Budhagupta, was ruling over the territory between the Kālindī and the Narmadā in G. E. 165 (A. D. 484-85) does not necessarily mean that the whole of Baghelkhaṇḍ and Bundelkhaṇḍ was included in the Gupta Empire in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D.[4]; for the Bālāghāṭ plates clearly show that the rulers of Mekalā and Mālwā had submitted to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena[5]. That Gupta supremacy had come to an end in the Baghelkhaṇḍ region is also shown by the Bamhanī plates[6] of the Pāṇḍavavaṁśī king Bharatabala of Mekalā, who makes no mention of any Gupta suzerain, but covertly refers to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena. It should not, therefore, cause any surprise

1. See the expression *Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau* which occurs in their grants; *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 95 *etc.*
2. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 117 f.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 110 f.
4. This argument has been advanced by Dr. Altekar. See *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, pp. 109 f., n. 4.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 f.

if Narendrasena's son Pṛthivīṣeṇa II pressed farther to the north and made the Uccakalpa prince Vyāghra acknowledge his supremacy. The political conditions in Baghelkhaṇḍ in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D. do not thus preclude the view that the suzerain of Vyāghradeva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣeṇa II.

There are, on the other hand, insuperable difficulties in identifying this suzerain with Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. We have no evidence of the spread of Vākāṭaka power north of the Narmadā in this early period. As I have shown elsewhere,[1] the Vākāṭakas originally hailed from South India. Apart from these two records of Vyāghradeva, all their and their feudatories' inscriptions, whether on stone or on copper, come from the country south of the Narmadā.[2] Again, if Pṛthivīṣeṇa I had come into conflict with Samudragupta, his name would surely have been mentioned in the long list of princes and states that submitted to the Gupta Emperor as given in the Allahabad *praśasti*.[3] Besides, what we now know of the history of Bundelkhaṇḍ and Baghelkhaṇḍ in the early centuries of the Christian era shows that this region was governed by the Maghas and not the Vākāṭakas before the rise of the Guptas. The stone inscriptions and coins of the Magha kings have been found from Fatehpur in the north to Bandhogaḍh in the south.[4] They are also mentioned in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas.[5] Balavarman, mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* as a king of Āryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta, probably belonged to the Magha dynasty. After overthrowing the Magha king, Samudragupta seems to have annexed the fertile territory of the Magha kingdom and parcelled out the hilly region of Baghelkhaṇḍ among a number of feudatories such as the Parivrājakas, Uccakalpas and Pāṇḍavas.[6] The Vākāṭakas do not come into the picture at all in this early period.

Those who identify Pṛthivīṣeṇa mentioned in the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions with Pṛthivīṣeṇa I find it difficult to suggest any identification of his feudatory Vyāghra. S. K. Aiyangar and Raychaudhuri identify him with Vyāghrarāja, the ruler of Mahākāntāra, who is mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* as vanquished

1. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 1 f.

2. The Indore plates of Pravarasena II which were found in the collection of the late Pandit Vamansastri Islampurkar must have originally belonged to Madhya Pradesh.

3. Raychaudhuri also admits that this silence is not a little surprising. *P.H.A.I.* (1953), p. 541. His explanation that this was because Samudragupta did not carry his arms to the central and western parts of the Deccan is hardly convincing.

4. See my article on the Early Kings of Kauśāmbī in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 f.

5. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 1.

6. See my article 'The Pāṇḍava Dynasty of Mekala' in *Indica* (Pub. by Indian Historical Research Institute), pp. 26 f.

by Samudragupta. This identification is untenable :[1] for this Vyāghararāja was a ruler of Dakshiṇāpatha i. e. of a country which lay south of the Narmadā, whereas the Nachnā and Ganj epigraphs are found in Central India. Jayaswal proposed to identify Vyāghra with the homonymous Uccakalpa king, referring the dates of the latter's son's and grandson's grants to the Kalachuri-Chedi era ;[2] but it is now generally admitted that the era was not current in Central India in this period.[3] The view that Pṛthivīṣeṇa mentioned in the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was the second Vākāṭaka king of that name presents no such difficulty; for as shown by Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil, both he and the Uccakalpa prince Vyāghra flourished in the same period, *viz.*,/*c.* A.D. 575.

It will thus be seen that Pṛthivīṣeṇa, the suzerain of Vyāghradeva who put up the stone inscriptions at Nachnā and Ganj, was the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, who, as I have shown elsewhere,[4] flourished from *c.* A. D. 470 to A. D. 490.

1. This is also admitted by D.C. Sircar, *H.C.I.P.*, III, p. 179, n. 1.
2. *History of India, 150 A. D.—350 A.D.*, p. 111, n. 2.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.
4. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 14 f.

THE EPOCH OF THE GAṄGA ERA.

By

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A large number of inscriptions, issued by the kings of Gaṅga dynasty in Orissa and their feudatories, are dated in the years of an era which was presumably founded by them or came into use through continuous reckoning of the regnal year of a king by his successors. The year when this era was started is not definitely known and has formed the subject of keen controversy among scholars. The view, originally propounded by Subba Rao, that the beginning of this era must be placed in the closing years of the fifth century A. D., is now generally accepted. He fixed the initial date of the Gaṅga Era as A.D. 494, while J. C. Ghosh put it as 496, and V. V. Mirashi as 498.

In an article published in *Indian Culture*[1] I discussed the question at some length, and pointed out that Prof. Subba Rao's theory was based on a wrong assumption. It is unnecessary to repeat here all the arguments I then advanced, and I would confine myself to one point, which may be regarded as the fundamental basis of Rao's theory, and on which new light has been thrown by a recently discovered inscription.

This main point is the date of the Mandasa grant[2] issued by the feudatory Kadamba ruler Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmkheḍi, during the reign of his suzerain Gaṅga king Anantavarman. The date of this grant is worded as *Śakābda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mata*. The last three words are difficult to interpret. *Sapta* denotes seven and *rasa* stands for six. Subba Rao added these two and took the whole phrase to mean 913 of the Śaka Era, This goes, however, against the general convention according to which the figures denoted by the two words should be placed side by side. Following the well-known principle *aṅkasya vāmā gatiḥ* we should take it as 67, and if we ignore it we may, at the most, take it as 76. I, therefore, argued that the assumption of Rao 'that the date of this grant is 'clearly 913' was unwarranted. Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. Mirashi took *sapta-rasa* as equivalent to *sattarasa* or 17, and read the date as 917. There is no good ground for such forced interpretation, unless one is otherwise convinced that the date must be near about this figure.

The importance of the issue involved is really very great. For Dharmakheḍi, who issued the Mandasa grant, also made

1. Vol. IV, p. 176., where reference is given to older views on the subject; for Mirashi's views, see *EI*.XXVI, 326, XXVII, 192.
2. *JBORS*. XVII, 175.

another grant in the year 520 of the Gaṅga Era[1] during the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman. Therefore the initial year of the Gaṅga Era would depend upon the determination of the date of the Mandasa grant. If this is taken to be Śaka 913 or 917, the Gaṅga Era must have been started towards the close of the fifth century A.D. On the other hand, if the Mandasa grant was really dated in Saka 967 or 976 we have to place the initial date of the Gaṅga Era about half a century later.

In spite of the weakness of the theory of Subba Rao pointed out by me, his view has now been generally accepted, and the exact epoch of the Gaṅga Era, as determined by Mirashi on astronomical data, is regarded more or less as a settled fact.

A new copperplate grant,[2] recently discovered, seems in my opinion to support the position taken up by me. It records a grant issued by the Kadamba feudatory Bhīmakheḍi, son of Dharmakheḍi, during the reign of his suzerain Gaṅga king Devėdravarman. The date of this grant is clearly given as Śaka 988. The importance of this new discovery will be apparent when we recollect that we possess a grant of Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi, issued during the reign of Devendra-varman, son of Ananta-varman.

The three grants referred to above show that three generations of feudatory Kadamba rulers viz. Bhīmakheḍi I, Dharmakheḍi, and Bhīmakheḍi II were contemporaries of their two suzerain Gaṅga rulers Ananta-varman and his son Devendra-varman.

Now the newly discovered grant shows that Devendravarman was on the throne in Śaka 988. The date of the Mandasa grant, issued during the reign of his father, is therefore more likely to be Saka 967 or 976 as suggested by me, rather than 913 or 917 accepted by Subba Rao, D. C. Sircar, V. V. Mirashi and others.

But this point, on which the whole theory of Subba Rao rested, now becomes of minor importance. As noted above, Dharmakheḍi issued a grant in Gaṅga year 520 during the reign of Devendra-varman. The newly discovered grant shows that this king Devendra-varman was ruling in Śaka 988 or A.D. 1066. The Gaṅga year 520, therefore, cannot be removed very far from A. D. 1066, and the initial year of the Gaṅga Era may thus be placed about the middle of the sixth century A. D., as I proposed in my former article. As the Gupta Empire finally came to an end about this time, it probably gave an opportunity to the Gaṅgas to assert their independence by formally inaugurating an era.

1. *JAHRS.* III, 171.
2. **Madagram Grant. I am now engaged in editing it for *EI*.**

It may be pointed out that the different grants mentioned above show such close resemblance in the wordings of the formal portion, covering more than twenty lines, that there can be hardly any doubt that the feudatories and suzerain rulers mentioned therein must be presumed to belong, respectively to the same families. Any attempt to save the present theory by relegating the suzerain kings of the newly discovered grant to a different family is therefore doomed to failure.

The two suzerain kings Ananta-varman and his son Devendra-varman have hitherto been unanimously taken to be kings of the well-known Gaṅga family of Kaliṅga. As the date of the Mandasa grant was taken to be Śaka 913 or 917, these two kings were identified respectively with Vajrahasta IV Aniyaṅkabhīma and his son Madhukāmārṇava, though neither of these is known to have borne these names. This assumption was based on the fact that for some generations, *at a later period*, the kings of this family bore in succession the two names Ananta-varman and Devendra-varman. But, as I pointed out, it is unreasonable to infer from this fact alone that the same thing was also true of their predecessors. According to the new grant mentioned above, Devendra-varman, son of Ananta-varman, was ruling in Śaka 988 (= A.D. 1066). He should therefore be identified with Devendra-varman, son of Vajrahasta V, Ananta-varman, as I suggested in my previous article in *Indian Culture*, IV. 176.

There is, however, one difficulty. According to the generally accepted chronology, the Gaṅga king, Devendra-varman ascended the throne in A.D. 1068 or 1070, and his coronation took place in Saka 992 (= A.D. 1070). This is no doubt a serious difficulty, but before we reject the proposed identification on this ground, we have to bear several facts in mind.

The new grant is dated only two or four years before the generally accepted date of Devendra-varman's accession to the throne. It would be very singular indeed, if two sets of kings, bearing identical names and imperial titles, were ruling in the same locality and at about the same time.

This consideration gains additional weight when we remember that even the official records of the family contain serious discrepancies both as regards the succession of kings, as well as in the reign-periods assigned to them. Apart from minor discrepancies here and there, attention may be drawn to those about the successors of Guṇārṇava (Guṇamahārṇava) II as shown in the following tables ; (the figure within bracket refers to regnal years).

I. According to Vizagapatam plates of Ananta-varman Choḍagaṅga (*Bh. List*, No. 1103).

Guṇārṇava (II) (27)

1. Jitāṅkuśa (15), 2. x 3. Guṇḍama (7) 4. Kāmārṇava (IV) (25) | 5. Vinayāditya (3)

Kaligalāṅkuśa (12) Vajrahasta IV (35)

II. According to a second set of Vizagapatam plates of the same king Ananta-varman Choḍagaṅga (*Bh. List*, No. 1100) and earlier records (*Bh. List*, Nos. 1091, 1093, 1095).

Guṇamahārṇava

Vajrahasta (III) (44)

Guṇḍama (3) Kāmārṇava (35) Vinayāditya (3)

Vajrahasta IV Āniyaṅkabhīma (35)

It will be seen that the name of Vajrahasta III is omitted in I, while the names of Jitāṅkuśa and Kaligalāṅkuśa are omitted in II. The regnal periods of Guṇḍama and Kāmārṇava are given respectively as 7 and 25 in I, and 3 and 35 in II.

Again Vajrahasta V is said to have been son of Madhukāmārṇava VI, and reigned for 33 years in one record of Choḍagaṅgadeva (*Bh. List*, No. 1103), and a son of Kāmārṇava V (eldest brother of Madhukāmārṇava VI) with a regnal period of 33 years in another record of the same king (*Bh. List* No. 1100).

If we remember that such serious discrepancies occur in the records of one and the same king, who was grandson of Vajrahasta V., we must conclude that there is something wrong in the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty on the basis of which we fix the dates of these kings.

The date of coronation of Vajrahasta V, given in his own plates as Śaka 960, is usually regarded as a fixed point in the chronology of the Gaṅga kings, though the date is irregular in respect of details. It may be argued that reckoning from this date, even if we accept the shorter of the two reign-periods assigned to him, *viz* 30 years, the accession of his son Devendravarman cannot be placed before Śaka 990, i.e. two years after the date of the new grant. But it should be remembered that the coronation of Kāmārṇava VII took place in Saka 1064, while his father was ruling till Śaka 1069. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the coronation of Vajrahasta V took place during the reign of his father, and his regnal years were counted from that year.

Some such error alone can account for the serious discrepancies noted above. Again, it is now generally accepted that the coronation of Devendra-varman took place in Saka 992, i.e. four years after the date of the new grant, and so it may be argued that this cannot be referred to him. Now, this date of coronation is expressed by the chronogram *"nayan-ābja-garbha-nidhi."* The crucial word here is *abja-garbha,* which the editor has taken to mean *nine*[1]. Normally *abja-garbha,* meaning *Brahmā,* should denote *'one'*, and Professor V.V. Mirashi, to whom I referred the chronogram, actually interpreted it to mean 912. When I pointed out to him that this is not acceptable in the present case, he could not offer any alternative suggestion. But if we take *abja* in apposition to *nayana,* or in the sense of Nārāyaṇa or Vishṇu, the well-known fact that Kṛṣṇa was the eighth child of his mother may induce one to take *garbha* (or *abja-garbha*) as equivalent to *eight.* In that case, the date of Devendra-varman's coronation would be 982, which fits in with the present grant. It would then appear that like Kāmārṇava VII, mentioned above, Devendra-varman was consecrated several years before his father's death. This may explain why a feudatory state might refer to him as ruling suzerain, specially if, as is not unlikely, he was invested with the power of a viceroy in the region where the feudatory ruled.

I hasten to admit that my interpretation of the chronogram is not quite satisfactory, but so is Prof. Subba Rao's. But I suggest it merely to show that we must not regard as an established fact that Devendra-varman's coronation took place in Saka 992, as has so long been accepted on the basis of Subba Rao's interpretation. Again no epigraphic record of Vajrahasta V is dated after Saka 988, the date of the present grant of Devendra-varman. Thus it is not inconsistent with any epigraphic data known so far.

Whatever we might think of the different views, it may be argued that a definite date of a king found in his record should not be rejected, simply because it differs by four or five years from the date so far accepted. In such a case, we should rather reconsider the whole chronological scheme, so far accepted, in the light of the new data. In the meanwhile it is better to accept the identity of Devendra-varman of the new grant with the son of Vajrahasta V, particularly when the known dates of the two do not overlap.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that whether this identity be accepted or not, it does not affect the question of the epoch of the Gaṅga era. The new grant definitely places it about the middle of the sixth century A.D., unless we question its genuineness or regard the clear wording of the date as an error.

1. *JAHRS.* VIII, 168, 179.

THE NAṆĀṆĀ GRANT OF ALHAṆA, A FEUDATORY OF KUMĀRAPĀLA CAULUKYA, V. 1219 AND 1220

BY

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The copper plate grant published here was discovered in 1936. When I went to Ajmer the same year in connection with my thesis on the *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha was kind enough not only to show it to me but also to help me in deciphering it. He had discovered the grant at a village named Naṇāṇā[1], about three miles from Bhagwanpur Railway Station on the Western Railway, which passes through Gujrat and Rājasthan and links the two. This village was the findspot of another copperplate grant of Kumārapāla, published by Dr. Ojha in *ABORI*, XXIII

The script used is Nāgarī. Excepting the portion giving the date, the name of the Caulukya overlord, Kumārapāla, his capital Aṇahilapāṭaka, details about donations, and a few words more, the record is in good Sanskrit verse. As regards orthography, the sign of *anusvāra* is mostly used, though at places, the nasal is also employed. A consonant following *r* is not unoften doubled. *Pṛiṣṭhamātrās* have been used.

The grant is issued from Aṇahilapāṭaka and is dated Monday, the 3rd day of the dark half of Pauṣa V. 1219 (26th November, 1162. A. D.) in the *Rāmarājya* of *Mahārājādhirāja* Kumārapāla, the vanquisher of the ruler of Sākambharī, while Yaśodhavala was in charge of the affairs of the State, secular as well as religious.

The genealogy of the donor, the Chāhamāna ruler, Alhaṇa, begins with line five of plate I and can be tabulated as follows :—

1. Lakṣmaṇa in the Cāhamāna family;
2. Sohi (Sobhita) ;
3. Balirāja at Naddūla :
4. Mahīndra ;
5. Aṇahila, who destroyed many rulers ;
6. (Jendu) rāja (?) in the (Saptaśata kingdom, the "mine of horses" ;

1. *Rajasthan Museum Report*, 1937, Sri Om Prakash M.A., my research student, drew my attention to the notice of this grant in this report.

7. Āśārāja, who by the orders of his overlord, Siddharāja went to fight at Dhārā. Its ruler, Naravarman, shut himself behind the walls of his fort as soon as he saw Āśāraja ;

8. Alhaṇa, son of Aśārāja and Delhaṇadevī, who saved the big army of the Gurjara king from extermination by slaying the Abhīra (?) chiefs, and also the ruler of Dhārā ;

9. Prince Kelhaṇa.

Lines 16-23 of Plate I give the following genealogy of Alhaṇa's maternal grandfather :—

1. Dhūpaḍa ;
2. Haradatta, the ruler of Vishṇudvāra ;
3. Kumārapāla ;
4. Kīrtipāla at Devavardhanapura ;

5. Haripāla, the brother of No. 4, of whom even the Hammīra was afraid. Out of his fear the Turuṣka horses, even though afflicted with thirst, did not dare to drink water ;

A brother of Kamārapāla, No 3 above, was the *nṛipati* Rudrapāla, the lord of Sārasvata *bhūtala*, whose daughter, Delhaṇadevīkā, was the mother of Alhaṇa Cāhamāna.

The details of donations begin with line 9 of Plate II. Alhaṇa granted to the god Tripuruṣadeva the *balādhipābhāvya* (the cess due to the *balādhipa*) of the village Nandāṇā. This had so far been appropriated by 'merciless' rulers every year, even though the village revenues were being enjoyed by Tripuruṣadeva. Similarly he granted the *balādhipābhāvya* of the village Bhīṭalavāṭaka, then being enjoyed by Caṇḍaleśvara, to that very god. To the image of Gaurī set up in the *garbhagṛiha* of Caṇḍaleśvara by Queen Śaṅkaradevī, he assigned 4 *drammas* from the customs house for her daily offerings.

The record up to this point was written by Khelāditya. To it there is an addendum in smaller letters, written by Ṭha(kkara) Śrīdhara, specifying the grant of three 'ploughs' of land by Alhaṇa to Tripuruṣadeva from the village Cāmooḍī. This grant is dated Thursday, the 11th day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, V. 1220.

Of the places mentioned in the grant Aṇahilapāṭaka is the present Pātaṇ, 25N. 70 E. Naḍḍūla is Nāḍol of Western Ṛajasthan, 25 N. 72 E. Saptaśata was the term used for the Cāhamāna kingdom of which Nāḍol was the capital. Dhārā (present Dhāra) was the capital of the Paramāras of Mālwā. Sārasvata-bhūtala may be some territory lying on the banks of the river Sarasvati of Northern Gujarat. Viṣṇudvāra looks like Haridwār, though

it is difficult to be sure on this point. Other geographical names in the record are Devavardhanapura, Nandāṇā, Bhīṭalavāṭaka and Caṁvoḍī. As the last three of these were obviously under Alhaṇa who had been restored to the kingdom of Nāḍol sometime between V. 1216 and 1218, it may be assumed that they were in the modern Jodhpur division of Rājasthān which includes all the territory once ruled over by the Cāhamānas of Nāḍol. I am not sure of the location of Devavardhanapura.

The record is of considerable historical interest. So far the last known date for Alhaṇa was V. 1218. The present record takes his reign upto V. 1220 in which year he was succeeded by Kelhaṇa. From Kīrtipāla's grant of V. 1218, Alhaṇa is known to have defeated the Saurāṣṭrikas. The present record supplies the additional information that he slew the ruler of Dhārā, an adversary of the Gurjara ruler. We have perhaps to identify this ruler with Ballāla, though the credit of slaying him has been assigned also to Yaśodhavala Paramāra of Abu by the *Tejaḥpāla-praśasti* and to some Brāhmaṇa soldiers by the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* of Hemacandra.

We know from the Sūndhā inscription that Alhaṇa's father, Aśārāja rendered meritorious service in Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's Mālwā campaign. From the present record, it appears that Naravarman Paramāra, though defeated, did not lose Mālwā. Driven into the fort of Dhārā by the combined forces of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and his feudatories, he stood the siege probably with success, for otherwise the record would have claimed Aśārāja's capture of the Paramāra capital.

Interesting also is the reference to Haripāla, a cousin of Alhaṇa's mother, Delhaṇadevī, as '*Hammīraśaṅkākara*', i. e. as one who inspired terror in the heart of the Hammīra. That 'Hammīra' here stands for the word 'Amīr' is made obvious by the further statement that out of Haripala's fear the Turushka-horses did not drink water in spite of being extremely thirsty. I have identified elsewhere this Hammīra with Ibrāhim of Ghaznā[1] who, according to Ferishtā raided India and reached the western coast of the country.[2]

Of the words used in the record, *balādhipābhāvya* needs some explanation. It appears from inscriptions of Western Rājasthān and Gujarāt that rulers and feudal chiefs regarded themselves as entitled to a number of minor cesses, besides their share in the land produce and customs duties. These cesses, called *ābhāvyas*, accrued to them on account of their real or supposed services as *balādhipas* and *talāras* etc. and could be realised even from villages given away in charity.

TEXT

Plate 1.

Line 1. [ओ संवत्] १२१९ ···वर्षेषु एकोनविंशत्यधिकेषु च पौषवदि ३ सोमे । अ-

„ 2. द्येह श्रीमदणहिल [पाटके । महाराजाधिराजस्य जितशाकंभरीपते:] श्रीमत्कुमारपालस्य रामराज्ये ज-

„ 3. ··· ॥ श्रीयशोधवल····श्रीकरणमुद्रेव स्वामिधर्म्मार्थकारिणि ॥ प्रसादा-

„ 4. [ह्व] भुजो मुख्यश्रीमदल्हणभूपतेः ।···सर्वभूभागे भुज्यमानक्रमागते ॥ जाते एवंविधे काले शासनं

„ 5. लिख्यते यथा ॥ कृत्वा शासन···पूर्वजवर्तनं ॥ क्षोणीमंडनचाहमानविमले वंशे विशालाचले

„ 6. श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणनामभूपति[रभू]त्संग्रामरामोपमः । तत्पुत्रोथ बभूव सोहि·····। नड्डूले व-

„ 7. लिराजभूपतिरतो जातो महीन्दो नृपः ॥ संजातोथ महीपतिश्चणहिलः [श्रीमान्महीन्द्रा]त्मजो हत्वा येन न-

„ 8. रेन्द्रवृंदमखिलं········। यद्द्वारे रिपुसुंदरीनिजधव [प्रध्वंसभीता सदा··· नयनांबुना प्रति-

„ 9. दिनं तिष्ठन्तितेज···।····यो वहुभूपदर्पदलनप्रोद्भूत [भूपाज्जकस्तुंगाश्व-स्थितमत्तकुंजरमुखप्रक्षि-

„ 10. प्तकुंताहवः ।[1] तेजस्वी····[राज] तनयः पश्चादभूद् भूषणं राज्ये सप्तशताख्यदुर्लभतरे नानातुरंगाकरे ।

„ 11. तस्यानन्तर···भूपतिलकः काले [अ]दूरात्कले । पुत्रोभूत्कल(लि)-कालकल्मषवहिःप्रोत्तुंगतेजाः स हि । आशा-

„ 12. राजमहीपतिर्गुणगणालंकारभूमंडनो विख्यातो यशसा सुविक्रम····कंदर्परूपाकृतिः । य[स्त्र]त्रो-

„ 13. त्तानमेघडंवर [निभ]श्चंडप्रतापान्वितः संप्राप प्रभुसिद्धराजवचसा युद्धाय धारानले (तले) । द [ष्ट्वा] मुं जगती-

„ 14. ·······नड्डूलनाथाकृर्ति तद्भीत्या नरवर्म्मभूपतिरभूत्प्राकारदुर्गाश्रयः ॥ तत्पुत्रोथ कुलप्रदीपक [···]

„ 15. ····दभूदल्हणः क्षोणीपाल इलातलक्षितिभुजामुत्पा[ट]रक्षाक्षमः । येनैतान् गिरिगह्वरान्त-

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1. The compound is obscure ; does it mean तुंगाश्वस्थितेन मत्तकुंजरमुखे प्रक्षिप्तः कुन्त आहवे येन सः ।

Line 16. ...भीरधाराधिपान् रक्षितमे[व]गूर्ज्जरपतेर्ग्रस्तं [म] हान्तं दलं । यन्मातामहपूर्व्वजः क्षितिभु-

„ 17. जां जेता च दातार्थिनां श्रीमद् धूहडनृपो बभूव सुकृती[1] । तस्याथ स्थिर-चंडभास्करसमः

„ 18. ख्यातप्रतापोह्यभद् विष्णुद्वारनरेश्वरो रिपुवधूवैधव्यदानप्रदः । पश्चात्तत्र-विचित्रविक्रमगुण-

„ 19. .. भूमीश्वरो जातः श्रीहरदत्तनामनृपतिस्तेजोधराभास्करः[2] ॥ सूनुस्तस्य कुमारपालनृपतिस्त्या-

„ 20. गी वि ..... [युद्ध] मु [च्छ्रि] तमहीविन्यस्तकीर्तिक्रमः । त[त्सूनु-स्त्वथ देववर्द्धनपुरे] श्रीकीर्ति-

„ 21. पालाभिधो जा [तः....] पतेस्तुरंगमनृणां संहारकर्ता रणे । तद्भ्राता हरिपालनाम विदितो हम्मीरशंका-

„ 22. करो य [द्भीत्या न जलं] तुरुष्कतुरगैः पीतं तृषार्तैरपि ॥ भ्राता [त] स्य कुमारपालनृपतेः ... धरित्रीयशो-

„ 23. विख्यातस्त्विह रुद्रपालनृपतिः सद्वंशकर्म्मक्रमः ॥ तत्सारस्वतपुण्यभूतलपतेः प्राणप्रिया पुत्रिका । सं-

„ 24. जाता हि महासती प्रतिदिनं गंगेव वंद्या सतां ॥ नाम्ना देल्हणदेविकेति जगति प्रख्यातशीलामला । सा-

„ 25. भूदल्हणभूपतेर्विजयिनो मातातिपुत्रप्रिया ॥ तत्पुत्रस्य बृहस्पतेरिव गुणा बुद्धिश्च वि[ष्णो]र्यथा तेज-

„ 26. [स्तस्य] रवेरिव क्षितितले सौम्यत्वमिंदोरिव । रामस्येव जनानुरागविभवः श्रीअल्हणक्ष्माप-

„ 27. तेः सौं (शौं) र्यं तस्य बलेरिवारित विदितं गांभीर्यमब्धेरिव ॥ सांभोधि-क्षितिखंडमंडनम-

„ 28. ही दीनांधकल्पद्रुमो जातो भूपकुमारविक्रमयशो विख्यात-

Plate 2.

„ 1. चूडामणिः । श्रीमत्केल्हण आत्मवंशकमलप्रद्योतनार्थो रविर्भक्तो रामवदल्हणस्य नृपतेः पुत्रः प-

„ 2. वित्रो भुवि ॥ ईदृग्वंशगुणाधारः श्रीमदल्हणभूपतिः । विचिंतयति संसार-मसारा[का]रदुस्तरम् ॥

„ 3. संसारे दशदुःखभीतमनसा गत्वाथ ती[र्थो]दकैः स्नात्वा निर्मलधौतपोतयुगलं विन्यस्य चांगे निजे ।

1. Some words are omitted here.

2. The text seems to be defective. Perhaps we may read तेजोधरो भास्करः।

Line 4. पश्चात्तं जगतां पतिं त्रिपुरुषं संतप्य (र्प्य) पंचामृतैः कर्पूरोदकचारुचन्दनरसैर्लिप्त्वा समग्रं ततः ॥ सद्यश्चंप-

„ 5. कमालतीशतदलव्याकोशपुष्पांबुजैः संपूज्याथ यथोचितं सुमनसा स्तुत्वा च नत्वा चिरं । नैवेद्यं सरसं

„ 6. प्रदाय बहुधा पुण्यप्रदारात्रकं[1] पश्चात्प्रेक्षणकं मनोधृतिकरं तौर्यत्रिकालं कृतं ॥ कृत्वैतद्द्विजदेवता-[2]

„ 7. स गुरूनभ्यर्च्य नानाधनैः पित्रोः स्वस्य च धर्मकीर्तियशसां संवृद्धये श्रद्धया । अथानन्तरं च । अनल्पचेतसा

„ 8. स्वर्गापवर्गमार्गाप्रयासप्रकाशकफलप्रदं । धर्मस्थानकं तदुपद्रषश्च क्षितितलमहीपालतिलको महोपातरसौ प-

„ 9. रिभावयति । परिभाव्य च भगवतः सकलसुरासुरगुरोः श्रीमत्रि(त्त्र)पुरुषदेवस्य प्रभुज्यमाननंदाणग्रामस्य । ग्राम-

„ 10. स्यास्य परत्र भीरुमनसा दृष्ट्वा गृहीतं तदा प्रत्यब्दं हि वलाधिप(प)क्रमपदाभाव्यं नृपैर्निष्कृपैः । पश्चादल्हणदेवभूतल-

„ 11. भुजा चंद्रार्क्ककालावधिं कृत्वास्मै तिलदर्भतोयविधिनासंकल्पदत्तं सदा ॥ राजभिः कृतधर्माणां जन्मकल्याणकारि-

„ 12. णां । लुप्तिः केनापि नो कार्या स्वर्गसौख्यप्रदायिना । एतदेव मया दत्तं लोभाद् गृह्णाति यो नरः । मातुस्तस्य चरत्येव रासभः प्र-

„ 13. तिवासरं ॥ तथा च श्रीमच्चंदलेश्वरदेवस्य प्रभुज्यमानभीटलवाटकग्रामस्य वलाधिपाभा-

„ 14. व्यं श्रद्धानुविद्धया भक्त्या श्रीमच्चंदलेश्वरदेवाय प्रदत्तमिति ॥

„ 15. अपरं च महाराजाधिराजश्रीमदल्हणदेवेन चंदलेश्वरदेवकीयगर्भगृहमध्ये

„ 16. राज्ञी श्रीशंकरदेव्या कारापितगोर्यै प्रतिदिनभोगनिमित्तं शुल्कमंडपिकायां

„ 17. प्रतिमासं प्रदत्ता द्रम्माश्चत्वारः । ते च चंद्रार्ककालं यावत् परिपालनीयाः । लुप्तिं यो-

„ 18. स्य विधास्यति प्रगतधीः पंचातिपापालयो योघा शासनलोपहेतुवचसां वक्ता भविष्य-

„ 19. त्यपि । स्वर्ग····कृष्टसप्तपितरस्तस्यैव पापात्मनः कुंभीपाकनिरंतघोरनरके

„ 20. यास्यंति तेधोमुखाः ॥ ममास्ते शासनारूढः श्रीमदल्हणभूपतेः । दानांबुनिर्मली-

„ 21. भूतः स्वहस्तो दक्षिणो ह्ययं ॥ महाराजाधिराजस्य श्रीमदल्हणभूभुजः । पुरतो लि-

1. आरात्रक is the same as आरात्रिकं 'waving a light before a divine image'.

2. The text is here defective.

Line 22. खितं चेदं खेलादित्यने (त्येन) शासनं[1] ॥ इति संवत्[2] १२२० आषाढ़ शुदि ११ गुरुदिने देवस्य प्र[ति]

" 23. एकादशीपर्वणि त्रित्रिपुरुषदेवाय चांवोडीग्राममभूमिमध्यात(त्) वी [झ] हाइडुंगर पश्चिम दिग्भागे महाराजाधिरा-

" 24. ज श्रीअल्हणदेवेन हलत्रयभूमी स्वसीमापर्यंता शासनेन प्रदत्ता । लिखितमिदं ठ० श्रीधरे ए (ण) प्रभुराज्ञतः ॥ ॐ ॥

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1. From तथा च the letters are bold and in a different hand.

2. From संवत् to the end the letters are again small.

SOME INFORMATION ABOUT DWELLING HOUSES, HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FURNITURE IN ANCIENT BENGAL.

BY

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The early inscriptions of Bengal are of very little use so far as the topic of this paper is concerned, because they are, so to say, almost silent about dwelling houses, household furniture and utensils used by the householders in ancient Bengal. We have consequently to gather and put together bits of stray information from some early Sanskrit works written by Bengali writers like Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacarita*, describing the capital Rāmāvati, Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta*, describing the capital Vijayapura, Srīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, etc. Some pieces of fragmentary information may also be gleaned from some of the earliest known specimens of Bengali literature known as Caryāpadas or Caryā songs. Some valuable evidences regarding ancient buildings, household furniture, utensils etc, are supplied by some of the terracotta plaques, bas-reliefs, images, coins, potteries, and other archæological relics discovered as a result of excavation of some of the old sites of modern West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan like Pāhāṛpur, Mahāsthān, Bāṇgaṛh, Rāmpāl, Mainămati, Deopāṛā, Tilda, Tamluk, etc.

The above evidence shows that well-to-do people living in magnificent capital cities and commercially important towns of ancient Bengal lived in all probability in houses made with bricks and hard objects like timber. Royal palaces and gorgeous mansions seem also to have been made with the help of materials like bricks and timber. It is not possible, however, to determine at present exactly the size and shape of such buildings and it is difficult to determine the principles of engineering and architecture followed for the construction of such palatial edifices and other dwelling houses.

The Edilpur copper-plate inscription (verse. 23) of Keśavasena informs us that when he would be passing through the (capital) city, the ladies living in the inner apartments of houses would assemble on the tops of lofty skyscraping buildings in order to see with wistful eyes his fascinating lovely appearance (cf. "*Āruhyābhraṁlihagṛhaśikhāmasya saundaryyalekhāṁ paśyantībhiḥ puri-viharataḥ paurasīmantinībhiḥ*"). The same inscription (verse. 24) also informs us that king Keśavasena gave as free

gifts to the Brāhmaṇas many prosperous villages which were crowded with lofty buildings (cf. "*Etenonnataveśmasaṅkaṭabhuvaḥ*... ....) *Viprkbhyo dadire mahīmaghavatānekapratiṣṭābhṛtaḥ*.......... *karbhaṭāḥ*"). There were thus skyscraping high buildings and palatial mansions in important cities and towns in ancient Bengal. The villagers seem in all probability to have lived mostly in thatched huts or cottages and in mud-built simple dwelling houses in the villages in ancient Bengal. In some of the villages inhabited by poor Brāhmaṇas some fine and lofty buildings like those which were usually found in important cities and towns could sometimes be found. Such stately buildings in rural areas seem generally to have been constructed for the dwelling of the pious Brāhmaṇas residing in such rural areas through the patronage and munificence of some of the generous kings of ancient Bengal like Keśavasena. A verse written by the poet Subhāṅka (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, III, 17, 2) accordingly informs us that through the good grace and munificence of the reigning king poor Brāhmaṇas versed in Vedic lore, who formerly lived in weather-worn cottages badly damaged by storm subsequently lived in stately mansions (cf. "*Kārpāsāsthipracayanicitā nirdhanaśrotriyāṇām yeṣāṁ vātyā pravitatakuṭī prāṅgaṇāntā babhūvuḥ* I *Yatsaudhānāṁ parisarabhūvi tvatprasādādidānīṁ Krīḍāyuddhacchidurayuvatīhāramuktāḥ patanti* II").

According to Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* (verse 37) Vijayapura, the capital city of Lakṣmaṇasena, a king of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, had in it beautiful mansions (*saudha*). The tops of these stately buildings were adorned with ornamental dolls (*vaḍabhīśālabhañjī*). According to the poetic description given by Dhoyī charming amorous young ladies living in these houses could scarcely be distinguished from the decorative dolls while they would stand motionless near these dolls which adorned the tops of their dwelling houses (cf. "*Yatsaudhānāmupari vaḍabhīśālabhañjīṣu līnāḥ susnigdhāsu prakṛtimadhurāḥ kelikautūhalena* I *Unnīyante kathampi rahaḥ pāṇipaṅkeruhāgrasparśodgacchatpulakamukulāḥ subhruvo vallabhena* II". In connection with the description of Vijayapura, as we find it in the *Pavanadūta* (verse. 49), the poet Dhoyī informs us that clouds of smoke laden with the fragrance of burnt Aguru or aloe wood (Aquilaria Agallocha) would come out in the evening from the lattice work of windows of its palatial buildings (cf. "*Prāsādānāṁ dinapariṇatau garbhadagdhāgurūṇāṁ.jālodgīrṇaḥ sajalajaladaśyāmalo yatra dhūmaḥ* I"). According to Sandhyākara Nandi's *Rāmacarita* (Chap. III, verse 23) there were in Varendrī (i.e. Northern Bengal) gorgeous cities adorned with magnificent palatial buildings of white colour. On the tops of these skyscraping buildings there were nice jars or pitchers made of gold (cf. "*Api dhavaladhāmalekhā lakṣmībhārābhirāmapuralīlāṁ* I *Niruparikanakakalaśamelakārapīvara payodharā bhogām* II") Ac-

cording to the *Rāmacarita* (Chap. III, verse. 32) Rāmapāla, the well-known emperor of Pāla dynasty of Bengal, made his capital city Rāmāvatī magnificent with the splendour of its palaces which were beaming with gold (cf. "*Akuruta*..... ...I *Kanakamaya-dhāmalekhādhikaraṇampi meruśikharamiva* II"). According to the Kamauli copper-plate inscriptions (verse. 9) of Vaidyadeva (vide *Gauḍalekhamālā* by A. K. Maitreya, p. 130) at the top of the palace of King Kumārapāla, son of king Rāmapāla, there was the statue of a lion made of gold (cf. "*Yasyārāti-kirīṭa-hāṭaka-kṛta-prāsāda-kaṇṭhīrava*".

Remains of ancient brick structures most probably of the Pāla period have been found in course of excavation at Mainamati, about 6 miles west of the town of Comilla in Eastern Pakistan. According to T. N. Ramachandran, Ānandarāja's so called palace ruins now found at Mainamati were once a Buddhist monastery, probably the famous Paṭṭikeraka monastery of the Pāla period. There are some other mounds locally known as Bhojarāja's palace mound, Sālbanrāja's palace mound, Rūpabān Kanyā's palace mound, etc. at Maināmati. In the Rūpabān Kanyā's palace mound etc. at Maināmati. In the Rūpabān Kanya's palace mound we find traces of a central structure and of enclosing walls. Traces of a brick structure perhaps a monastery, with arrangement of central temple and surrounding cells can be noticed here. Though brick spoliation is heavy in Bhojarāja's palace, a chamber, 6 feet square, found in the centre suggests that the central structure may have been composed of box-like chamber, as we find at Medh (Mahāsthān). Bricks of various sizes and ornamented bricks probably used in cornices have been found in Ānandarāja's palace mound and in some other mounds. Local tradition assigns Sālbanrāja's palace to the period of Queen Maināmatī, the mother of Gopīcandra and the wife of Māṇikacandra, a king of the Candra dynasty that ruled in Eastern Bengal during the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D. Potsherds have also been found at Maināmati. They are mostly bits of pans, pots, lids and pot-rests, with such designs as the zig-zag, chess-board, etc. They are, according to Mr. Ramacandran, bits from pottery meant for monastic use (vide Recent Archaeological Discoveries along the Maināmati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal by T.N. Ramachandran, M. A., in *B.C. Law Volume*, Part 2. pp. 213-231).

As stated before, the villagers in ancient Bengal seem mostly to have lived in simple cottages (*kuṭīra*) or thatched dwelling houses. A verse written by the poet Yogeśvara (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 176, 2) gives an interesting description of a lonely cottage in a village with its shivering inmates during the early hours of a morning in the winter. The sun is not yet

up. The air is filled with the smoke of dry cowdung cakes which are kept burning in every household hearth for giving refreshing warmth. Bullocks are crowded in the adjoining open courtyard. Dew drops are dripping from the leaves of Simbī creeper (Canavalia Ensiformis), which covers the roof and outer sides of the walls of a worn out cottage. Old men and women living in this village home are described as sitting tightly in closed nooks and corners, which are safe from the attack of cold morning breeze and as waiting eagerly for the refreshing warm rays of the morning sun (cf. "*Udvegaṁ janayanti saṁcitavṛṣavyāptājiropāntakāḥ prātaḥ śīrṇakuṭīrapuñjitalatāśimbītuṣārāvilāḥ* I *Grāmā gomayadhūmasaṁtatipariklistāruṇāśmaśrubhirvṛddhaiḥ kuḍyanivātalīnanibhṛtairabhyarthyamānātapāḥ II*"). As at present, cottages and simple houses in ancient Bengal seem to have thatched roofs usually made by using such materials as bamboo and straw. The framework of the walls of rooms and the lattice work of windows and doors seem to have been made with bamboo chips or cane or timber. The walls and floorings seem to have been made with the help of mud. The roofs of such thatched houses seem to have rested on poles made of bamboo or wood. In a Caryā song we find reference to the practice of making walls by using frameworks or fencing made with bamboos, (cf. *Cāripāśe Chāilāre diyā cañcālī*"). In a verse written by the poet Vāra, as we find it in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, we find the pathetic description of a poor man's worn out cottage during the rainy season. The thatched roof of the cottage is described as resting on tottering wooden poles (cf. "*Calat kāṣṭhaṁ galat kuḍyaṁ uttānatṛṇasañcayam* I *Gaṇḍupadārthimaṇḍukākīrṇaṁ jīrṇaṁ gṛhaṁ mama* II"). The evidence furnished by representations of sheds, as we find them depicted on some representations made on stone and on some of the terracotta plaques discovered in Bengal, shows that bamboo poles or wooden poles seem in all probability to have been used as supporting pillars of thatched roofs of dwelling houses and cottages and of other types of sheds. Bow-shaped sheds and pyramid-like sheds seem to have been prevalent among the people in ancient Bengal.

As stated before, bits of earthen pans, pots, lids, potrests, etc, have been found at Maināmati. On some of the terracotta plaques discovered from among the ruins found at Maināmati, Pāhāṛpur, etc, we find figures of bedstead, flower-vase, jars and pitchers of various shapes, pots, plates, drinking vessels, bowls, large jars, ink-pots, lamp-pots, book-shelves, stools etc. Wealthy people seem in all probability to have used as their household utensils plates, dishes, bowls, drinking vessels, etc, which were made of costly metals like gold and silver. Persons with moderate means seem, as at present, to have used utensils made of metals like bell-metal, brass, etc. Poor men and women living in villages

seem to have used in their every-day lives utensils made of earth. There is reference in a Caryā song to the cooking pot *haṁri* or cooking vessel used for boiling rice (*bhāta*) (cf. *Hāṁri-tabhātanāhi nitiābeśī*"). Besides cooking pot (*hāmrī*) the most important cooking vessel used by the householders in ancient Bengal seems to have been the *kaṭāha*, which denotes a cauldron or a frying pan. There is a reference to a kind of pitcher (*karkarī*) in a verse written by an unknown poet. The verse in question is given in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. The pitcher is said to be badly damaged (cf. "*Liptā jarjarakarkarī jalalavairno māṁ tathā bādhate* I). A verse written by the Bengalee poet Umāpatidhara, as we find it in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (II, 146, 4), describes the setting sun as gradually stooping down in the evening behind the lamp-pot filled with sesamum oil in the evening (cf. "*Sandhyā dīpapraroharh bahulatilarasavyāptapātrāntarālaṁ*..............II"). There is a reference to a kind of pitcher or water-pot called *ghaṭa* in a verse written by the Bengalee poet Dhoyī (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, II, 51, 2). The verse in question is also given in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* (cf. "*Nyasyantyāḥ sahakārapallavamatha vyānamy* ı *patyuḥ puro dhārāvāhibhireva locanajalairyātrāghaṭaḥ pūritaḥ* II"). In a verse written by another Bengalee poet named Śaraṇa (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, v, 1, 4), a busy housewife in a poor man's family is described as lifting up water in a bucket or a pitcher from a well with the help of a rope (cf. "*Rajjukṣepa*. ....*kūpādapaḥ pāmarī* II"). Halāyudha, the author of *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* (vide *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* edited by Tejaścandra Vidyānanda, Calcutta, p. 17.) quotes a line written by Paiṭhīnasiḥ showing that a Hindu householder especially a Brāhmaṇa could safely use for his meal even broken utensils, if made of copper, silver, gold, conchshell, oyster, stone, crystal, etc. ("*Tāmrarajatasuvarṇaśaṅkha suktyaśmasphaṭikānāṁ bhinnamapi na doṣāya* II"). A Brāhmaṇa is, however, forbidden to use for the sake of his meal plates, bowls etc, and drinking vessels made of iron. In the Edilpur copper-plate inscription (verse 16) the water-vessels made of iron of the Brāhmaṇas are said to have turned into gold at the sight of king Keśavasena. According to the *Tabaquati-Nasiri* dining plates, bowls etc, and drinking vessels made of gold and silver were used in the palace of Lakṣmaṇasena, a king of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. According to Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacarita* (Chap. III, verse 34) there were in a house especially built by king Rāmapāla in his capital city Rāmāvatī various kinds of furniture and articles made of gold (cf. "*Ābharaṇair upakaraṇairbhūribhirabhirāmahemanirmmāṇaiḥ* I"). Among articles kept as furniture by householders in ancient Bengal mention may be made of *khaṭvā* or bedstead containing bed, stool, *peṭikā* or wooden box or trunk, etc. A farmer's dwelling house in a village in ancient Bengal had in it generally as an indispensable household object a rice-husking instrument. There is reference to a rice-husker in

a peasant's dwelling house in a verse written by Saraṇa (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, V. I, 3). Fashionable persons seem to have kept in their houses cages containing birds. A verse (verse. 13) of the Khālimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla informs us that there were cages containing parrots in pleasure-gardens. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* also informs us that fashionable persons kept in their dwelling houses cages containing various types of birds. (Vide *Studies in the Kāmasūtra* by H.C. Chakladar, p. 155).

RAGHUVAMŚA AS SOURCE BOOK OF GUPTA HISTORY

By

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There is fairly wide acceptance of the view that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Vikramāditya Sāhasāṅka i.e. Samudragupta's son, Candragupta II. There are two manuscripts of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, one in Darbhanga and another in Varanasi, both over 500 years old, in which this fact has been clearly mentioned. Further, there is a tradition that Kālidāsa had helped Pravarasena Vākāṭaka, a grandson of Candragupta Vikramāditya, to write a Prākrit poem viz. *Setubandha*. A very clear reference to this tradition was made 350 years ago by Rāma Dāsa, who wrote a learned commentory on this work. There is other relevant material also which supports the conclusion that Vikramāditya Sāhasāṅka was a patron of Kālidāsa.

Although *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, an old Buddhist history, begins an account of Gupta dynasty with Samudragupta, modern historians of that period have analysed available material and indicated in a rough manner the part played by three generations preceding Samudragupta—firstly with the help of reference to them in Gupta records admittedly beginning with those of Samudragupta himself, and secondly, on the evidence of a coin type about which scholars are divided in their opinion as to whether it was issued by Samudragupta or his father Candragupta I. There is, however, a concensus of opinion that it was really Samudragupta who founded the Gupta empire,—a fact which perhaps explains why *Aryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* began its dynastic account by mentioning that famous conqueror first.

That Samudragupta *preceded* Kālidāsa appears to be fairly well established.

In canto IV of *Raghuvaṁśa* is given a description of Raghu's conquests in various directions. Many students of Kālidāsa have entertained the view that this description was not a mere fancy having its origin in the *dig-vijaya* of the Pāṇḍavas narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, but is in some way related to Samudragupta's conquests, of which an account was available in Harisheṇa's *praśasti*.

In his initial stanzas in canto I of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa has referred to Raghu's descendants as "*āsamudra*", which phrase

can mean either that they were kings whose dominions extended up to the sea or that they belonged to a dynasty which began with Samudra. It is unlikely that Kālidāsa was unaware of both these meanings of that phrase.

There is one stanza in canto IV of the *Raghuvaṁśa* which, I suggest, cannot be fully appreciated, without taking into account what was virtually stated to be an equation between Raghu and Samudragupta. This stanza is as follows—

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इंद्रियाख्यानिव रिपून् तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ॥

IV. 60

In its first line it was implied that Raghu prefered to undertake a military operation *by land* to an invasion by sea, in order to conquer the Persians; and in its second line, a comparison was made between Raghu and "*saṁyamin*", who conquered his sense organs through a philosophic approach. In other words, Raghu was compared with a person who restrains his passions through a study of philosophy, the land route with that philosophy and the Persians, who were Raghu's enemies, with sense organs which are enemical to spiritual progress.

That this comparison is not quite easy or direct would be conceded. That there was more in it, is apparent. Its meaning and propriety are fully disclosed when its *Bhagvadgītā* background is adequately appreciated. In chapter 2 of that ancient work, which Kālidāsa had evidently studied carefully, is given a detailed account of the conquest of *indriyas* or sense organs; and a reference is made to the sea, as an example of supreme restraint. It was observed that although the sea was continuously being filled in with water from various sources, it stood unmoved, i.e. did not cross its shore line. Thus *samudra* or sea was nature's biggest example of self-control. It always remained within proper limits by not transgressing a certain geographical line. Kālidāsa has referred to this idea while mentioning how the princes of Raghu's dynasty did not encroach upon each other's territory—

अन्योन्यदेशप्रविभागसीमां वेलां समुद्रा इव न व्यतीयुः । *Raghuvaṁśa* XVI, 2

Raghu, who did not go beyond that very shore line when he preferred deliberately to proceed along a land route in order to attack Persia, could have embarked from any conveniently placed sea-port on India's western sea-coast north of Śurpāraka (near Bombay) for a maritime expedition against Persia. He did not do that. Therefore his behaviour was comparable to that of a *samudra*. Both did not cross the sea shore—though from opposite directions. What may thus appear to have been a somewhat involved comparison unfolds itself as a subtle and oblique reference to Samudragupta.

Persia at that time (355-360 A.D.) was engaged in a war with the Roman empire. Shapur II, who was Samudragupta's Persian contemporary for a number of decades, had even diverted Hūṇa tribal activity towards his eastern frontier, sometime in 359-360 A. D., in order to tempt them away from his empire and also to weaken his enemies, viz. Kuṣāṇa rulers in the old N.W.F.P. and Samudragupta in India. From Roman sources, it is gathered that there was an Indian embassy sent to Rome in 361 A. D. with which was associated a delegation from Ceylon. Such an Indian embassy during Samudragupta's reign may reasonably be taken to have been sent by him rather than by any other Indian king, particularly because Roman contemporary historians who have referred to it, knew how to distinguish between Indians and Kuṣāṇas, etc. A combination of Indian and Ceylonese diplomatic effort is best understood in terms of political relationship then existing between king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon and Samudragupta, which materialised after 352 A. D. The main object of Samudragupta's embassy must have been to strengthen the ties of friendship with the Romans, who were fighting against the common enemy the Persians.

Thus Raghu's Persian expedition was a poetic reconstruction of an actual military undertaking of Samudragupta sponsored in this background of Persian hostility.

It was in these circumstances that the account of the Ikśvāku dynasty was named not after Dilīpa but after Raghu, although in Cantoes I-III of the *Raghuvaṁśa* there is an extensive account of Dilīpa and his consort Sudakṣiṇā. Samudragupta's western exploits must have left a profound impression on contemporary world ; and in India, such an uncommon event could be reasonably deemed to have been specially cherished. That is how the *Kāvya* was named obliquely after him, a position which exactly corresponds with Samudragupta's recognised importance in Gupta dynasty itself.

There are later references in the *Raghuvaṁśa* which appear to be relevant in this context; we may refer to some of them below.

(a) One may compare terms in which Kālidāsa described how Raghu's fame travelled everywhere with Hariṣeṇa's concluding verse in his *praśasti*—

(i) आरूढमद्रीनुदधीन्वितीर्णं भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम् ।
ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम् ॥
Kaghuvaṁśa, VI. 77

(ii) प्रदानभुजविक्रमप्रशमशास्त्रवाक्योदयै-
रुपर्य्युपरि संचयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गं यशः ।
पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्जटान्तर्गुहा-
निरोधपरिमोक्षशीघ्रमिव पांडु गांगं पयः ॥ Hariṣeṇa

(b) While discussing Daśaratha's rise to power, Kālidāsa reverted again to Raghu's greatness—

दशदिगन्तजिता रघुणा यथा श्रियमपुष्यत्......

Raghuvaṁśa, IX. 5

(c) In a remarkable stanza completely constructed on the basis of a *double entendre*, Kālidāsa lost no opportunity again to refer to Samudragupta, while describing a sea, in words which definitely recall Samudragupta's biography, as stated by Hariṣeṇa—

पक्षच्छिदा गोत्रभिदात्तगंधाः शरण्यमेनं शतशो महीध्राः ।
नृपा इवोपप्लविनः परेभ्यो धर्मोत्तरं मध्यममाश्रयन्ते ॥

Raghuvaṁśa, XIII. 7

(d) Some phrases about Raghu recall Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* of Samudragupta; and even numismatic and other historical evidence supports certain details :—

(i) A study of his coins reveals that Samudragupta was a tall figure with broad shoulders. So was Raghu :—

युवा युगव्यायतबाहुरंसलः कपाटवक्षाः परिणद्धकंधरः ।

Raghuvaṁśa, V. 34

(ii) Similarly, Samudragupta had long eyes; and the same was the case with Raghu :—

कामं कर्णान्तविश्रान्ते विशाले तस्य लोचने ।
चक्षुष्मत्ता तु शास्त्रेण सूक्ष्मकार्यार्थदर्शिना ॥

Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 13

(iii) It appears from Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* that Samudragupta had, on his assumption of power, immediately to fight with a number of kings. So did Raghu :—

सममेव समाक्रान्तं द्वयं द्विरदगामिना ।
तेन सिंहासनं पित्र्यमखिलं चारिमंडलम् ॥ *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 4

(iv) In his analysis of Candragupta Kumāradevī coin type, Dr. Altekar had remarked the while discussing the legend which appears on Samudragupta's Standard type, viz. "*samara-śata-vitata-vijayo*...", "Samudragupta was the right hand of his father and had distinguished himself on many a battle field during the latter's life time" (*JASB*, *NS* XLVII p. 109, 1937). Raghu (vide canto III in *Raghu-vaṁśa*) helped his father extensively and even fought a battle with Indra in order to secure for his father the merit of a hundred horse-sacrifices.

(v) Hariśeṇa has referred to Samudragupta's piercing intellect and literary achievements. So were they credited to Raghu (*Raghuva śa*, IV. 4).

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(vi) It is interesting to note that in his four references to sea in the 4th canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa took care to employ four different words i.e. *sāgara* (verse no. 9), *mahodadhi* (verse no. 17), *samudra* (verse no. 28) and *arṇava* (verse no. 30).

(vii) When referring to Raghu's birth, Kālidāsa stated—भवो हि लोकाभ्युदयाय तादृशाम् । III. 14. This estimate is similar to that of Hariṣeṇa, who observed-विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य etc.

(c) In canto V of the *Raghuvaṁśa* is described distribution by Raghu of 14 crores of gold coins to a Brāhmana; and such distribution in crores is claimed for Samudragupta in Gupta records; cf. न्यायागतानेकहिरण्यकोटिप्रदस्य Bhilsad Inscription of Kumāragupta I.

If Kālidāsa narrated Samudragupta's career in this fashion, can it be assumed that Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā corresponded to Candragupta I and Kumāradevī? According to a Nepal inscription, a Lichchavi family ruled at Pāṭaliputra before the Gupta occupation of Magadha. It is probable that Kumāradevī belonged to that dynasty and was thus a Magadha princess. Sudakṣiṇā was a character admittedly *invented* by Kālidāsa, who led great stress on her being a princess from Magadha. This was particularly well brought out in a remarkable stanza which emphasises that while her husband was a lord of Uttara-Kośala, she came from Magadha—

न मे ह्रिया शंसति किंचिदीप्सितं स्पृहावती वस्तुषु केषु मागधी ।
इति स्म पृच्छत्यनुवेलमादृतः प्रियासखीरुत्तरकोशलेश्वरः ॥

Raghuvaṁśa, III. 5

Further, if representation of Candragupta along with his chief queen Kumāradevī on a coin type would warrant an inference that there was a great bond of affection between them, such a bond between Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā has been specifically stated by Kālidāsa—

रथांगनाम्नोरिव भावबंधनं बभूव यत्प्रेम परस्पराश्रयम् ।
विभक्तमप्येकसुतेन तत्तयोः परस्परस्योपरि पर्यचीयत ॥

Raghuvaṁśa, III. 24

Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* warrants a conclusion that Chandragupta had more than one wife. So had Dilīpa—

कलत्रवन्तमात्मानमवरोधे महत्यपि तया मेने ॥

Ibid 1. 31

For obvious reasons, Kālidāsa omitted reference to any rivals to Raghu by way of step-brothers.

While critics would be willing to consider as somewhat plausible, this position regarding Samudragupta, since some

materials give independent support, an equation between Atithi, described in canto XVII of the *Raghu-vaṁśa* and Kumāraguta I, would be regarded as less evident. But there appear to be fairly cogent reasons to suggest this identification :—

(1) A full moon shows her spots most clearly; and it was also a problem how to compare a king to a full moon and yet withhold this defect. Kumāragupta I ceased to be a *kumāra* on his assumption of power; and took care to announce in a coin legend that he was, "*Guptakulāmala candraḥ*". He had claimed in another coin legend that he was *Gupta-kula-vyoma-śaśī*; and in yet another, *pṛthvī-talāmbara śaśī*. Kumāragupta I was thus concerned with a moon and a spotless moon at that.

On his Tiger-hunt coin type, changing a legend slightly as formulated by his grandfather, he had an interesting text: "*Kumāragupto' adhirājā*". Samudraguta was content with calling himself a *rājā* in his legend. Kumāragupta's modification is best understood from this verse about Atithi—

वभौ भूय: कुमारत्वादाधिराज्यमवाप्य स: ।
रेखाभावादुपारूढ: सामग्र्यमिव चंद्रमा: ॥
Raghuvaṁśa, XVII. 30

(2) Kumāragupta's Elephant-rider coin-type referring to a coronation programme of a ride on elephant back to his capital corresponds to Atithi's elephant ride after his coronation :—

स पुरं पुरुहूतश्रीः कल्पद्रुमनिभध्वजाम् ।
क्रममाणश्चकार द्यां नागेनैरावतौजसा ॥ *Ibid*, XVII. 32.

(3) The economic prosperity which had prevailed in Kumāragupta's empire as indicated by inscriptions etc. recalls the description of the brisk trade which flourished in the reign of Atithi, when the merchants had no apprehension of danger even in jungles and mountain paths :—

वापीष्विव स्रवन्तीषु वनेषूपवनेष्विव ।
सार्थाः स्वैरं स्वकीयेषु चेरुर्वेश्मस्विवाद्रिषु । *Ibid*, XVII. 64.

(4) The poet seems to have even gone to the length of saying that Kumāragupta I showed such promise as even exceeded that of either his father or grandfather, when he wrote :—

प्रवृद्धौ हीयते चन्द्रः समुद्रोऽपि तथाविधः ।
स तु तत्समवृद्धिश्च न चाभूत्ताविव क्षयी ॥ *Ibid*, XVII. 71.

(5) Athithi's description —

गुणास्तस्य विपक्षेऽपि गुणिनो लेभिरे ऽन्तरम् ।
Ibid, XVII. 57.

may be compared with the legend on Kumāragupta's Kārtikeya (peacock) coin-type : जयति स्वगुणैर्गुणारविन्दः (?) श्री महेंद्रकुमारः ।
Sri. Sivaramamurti has suggested another reading viz. गुणरत्नाब्धिः instead of गुणारविंदः ।. जयति स्वगुणैः must, ordinarily, have an object that was conquered in the accusative plural or singular and which had something to do with enemies.

It thus appears that Kālidāsa wrote his famous poem *Raghuvaṁśa* in order to describe some portions of careers of certain Gupta kings, virtually in an attempt to prove that history repeated itself in view of what were represented as Ikshvāku precedents, fully exploiting Gupta dynasty's association with Ayodhyā. The art of oblique reference could not have had a more brilliant performance.

THE SIX *RASAS* IN ĀYURVEDA

By

(Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M. A., Ph. D., Naihati)

The Rasa or 'Taste' is a subject of fundamental importance to mankind as a whole. The Āyurveda (Science of Life) has dealt with the subject with meticulous care and in great detail. Believing that the wisdom of the Ancients may prove to be of value to modern man, it is proposed to refer to this fascinating topic briefly in this article dedicated to the great Savant and veritable Ṛṣi, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of Poona.

Rasa is comprehended by the tongue which is healthy and free from imperfections. All foods and medicines available to mankind have a Taste, and each Taste has its distinctive power for application in a practical manner. To understand the subject well, the origin of taste and its composition are required to be investigated.

Āyurveda recognises only six kinds of Rasas; Sweet, Sour, Saline, Pungent, Bitter and Astringent. Foods containing the six tastes have six distinct effects on the tongue, the cavity of the mouth and on the mind generally.

Sweet foods, when tasted, soothe the tongue and mouth; sense-organs are satisfied, and there is a pleasant feeling generally. Children and ants are fond of sweets. If water is attacked by ants, the probability is that it is sweet.

Sour foods are different. A few drops of sour lemon juice taken raw, for instance, will produce rapid secretion of water from the mouth, horripilations, unpleasant feeling in the teeth, and contraction of the eyes and eye-brows.

Salty foods likewise increase salivation, produce a sense of heat in the cavity of the mouth and is generally unpleasant when taken in large quantity.

Bitter foods produce slimy sensation in the tongue and mouth, and for a time the tongue loses the power to comprehend other tastes.

Pungent foods, such as red pepper, when placed on the tongue impart the sensation of heat and burning. The nerve-ends of the tongue are excited and the cavity of the mouth burns as if with fire for a while.

Astringent foods contract the tongue, leave an unpleasant sensation in the mouth, and the watery secretions are temporarily stopped.

Before determining the origin of Rasas one thing may be remembered. The entire mobile and immobile creation is composed of five elements and their subtle counterparts or the Tanmātras. The five elements are: Earth, Air, Water, Fire and Ether (Ākāśa). Man as a miniature universe or microcosm is a product of the five elements. All foods and medicines are similarly composed of five elements, but they become different because of the difference in the quality and quantity of the five elements. The six tastes differ because of the same reason. As the proportion of the elements differs, the Rasas become different.

According to Āyurveda each taste is formed by the predominance of two elements out of five. The power of these two elements is manifested in the six different tastes, and thus their medical and food values are altered. Although the principal tastes are recognised as six, their combinations in the form of subsidiary tastes are indeed innumerable. The following table shows the names of Rasas and their element contents :—

Taste.	*Elements.*
Sweet	Earth and Water
Sour	Earth and Fire
Saline	Water and Fire
Pungent	Fire and Air
Bitter	Ether and Air
Astringent	Earth and Air

The above are the gross elements which combine in different proportions in order to produce different tastes. But they have their subtle counterparts in which the elements in their subtle form (*Tanmātra*) reside. In their subtle form the elements are more mobile and they readily combine and transmute. The five subtle substances are: Form for Fire, Taste for Water, Sound for Ether, Touch for Air and Smell for Earth. Corresponding to these gross and subtle elements the human beings have the five organs of sense in which the power to comprehend the five subtle substances are present. For instance, the human beings comprehend Form with the eyes which are therefore the seat of Fire in the human body. Taste is comprehended by the Tongue—the seat of Water. Sounds are comprehended by the ear—the seat of Ether. Touch is felt by the skin—the seat of Air. Smell is comprehended by the Nose—the seat of the element of Earth.

Still subtler form of these gross and subtle substances manifest themselves in the form of cosmic colours. But as they move in a different dimension, they are not visible to the ordinary

eye. But with the help of a triangular glass prism, these cosmic colours can be comprehended with the eyes. When the vision passes through the thickest part of the triangular prism, the cosmic colours manifest themselves. It is then possible to see how everything in the visible world around us is bathed in these rich cosmic colours, and how every little thing is continuously receiving elemental vibrations. Birth, youth, old age and death are caused by their combinations and alterations. To modern science these colours are known as VIBGYOR colours, but their qualities as elements and their power for good and evil are scarcely known anywhere.

The seven cosmic colours illumine the worlds, recognise wave lengths of each and every thing, and their movements are as swift as thought. They are conscious, possess intelligence and act in accordance with the law of polarity. Of these seven cosmic colours RED resides in the eyes with which Form is comprehended. Red thus is Fire. ORANGE resides in the Tongue, the instrument for Taste. Orange is Water. BLUE is seen with the prism in the cavity of the ear, as indeed in other cavities through which Sound is comprehended. Blue is Ether. VIOLET resides in the skin which comprehends Touch. Violet is therefore Air. GREEN is seen at the tip of the nose which receives smell. Green is thus equivalent to Earth. Out of the two remaining colours YELLOW is subsidiary to Red (Fire) and INDIGO to Orange (Water). The first is secondary Fire and the second is subsidiary Water. Yellow regulates bodily heat, and Indigo the thick lymphs of the body. The colours resident in the five sense-organs and in the human body can be easily detected by examining different persons with the help of a prism.

Two colours representing two elements give rise to six different Tastes by different combinations. The undernoted table shows the names of Tastes and their constituent colours :

Tastes.	*Colours.*
Sweet	Green and Orange
Sour	Green and Red
Saline	Orange and Red
Pungent	Red and Violet
Bitter	Blue and Violet
Astringent	Green and Violet

The effects of different tastes on the three principal elements of the human body have been very well determined by the Ancients. There are three general rules with regard to tastes and their effects on the Tridoṣa of the human body :

1. Sweet, Sour and Saline pacify Vāyu (Air).
2. Sweet, Bitter and Astringent pacify Pitta (Fire)
3. Pungent, Bitter and Astringent pacify Kapha (Water)

But as these tastes go on pacifying one element, they aggravate the other elements simultaneously. Thus although sweet taste pacifies the two elements of Air and Fire, it aggravates Kapha or Water. Sour taste pacifies the element of Air, but aggravates the two other elements of Fire and Water. Saline likewise pacifies Air, but aggravates both Water and Fire. Pungent pacifies Water, but aggravates both Air and Fire. Bitter pacifies the two elements of Fire and Water, but aggravates Air. Astringent likewise pacifies the two elements of Fire and Water, but aggravates Air.

Roughly speaking, the elements residing in the human system are Vāyu (Air), Pitta (Fire) and Kapha (Water). The action of Air is over the whole of the cerebro-spinal nervous system, that of Pitta on the circulatory system, while Kapha has its action on the whole of the mucous system The subject has been dealt with in detail in my book, entitled, *The Science of Tridoṣa,* Gotham Book Mart, New York, 1951.

Like medicines and foods the six tastes have their malefic as well as benefic effects on the human body. Sweet foods, for instance, considerably increase the power of the limbs and the seven system of the human body. They are good for children and old and weak persons. They strengthen the sense-organs and keep them in a healthy condition. The complexion of the skin and the hair receive nourishment from sweet foods. If sweet foods are over-used or taken indiscriminately, it will result in diseases of the Fat system and of the mucous surfaces. Diseases like obesity, loss of appetite, apoplexy, glandular swellings and tumours result from over-use of sweet foods. In using foods of different tastes the Great Middle Path of Lord Buddha should be followed.

Sour foods increase appetite and digestive power, produce heat and satisfaction, and bring the element of Air under control when it goes astray. If sour foods are indulged in excessively, they cause emaciation, looseness of muscles, eye-diseases, vertigo, itch, jaundice, erysipelas, dropsy, ulcers, boils and fever.

Salty foods break up the molecules of food, while it is being digested, split up knots in the glands and flesh, tumours and fæces and promote relish for food and perspiration. But if taken in excess salt will produce premature old age, baldness, grey hair, leprosy, blood poisoning, erysipelas and rapid loss of strength.

Bitter foods promote appetite and destroy worms, relieve thirst and remove blood poisoning, leprosy, hysteria, nausea, burning sensation in the limbs and fever. When taken in excess bitter foods will produce all varieties of nervous diseases, vertigo, and the rest, by exciting the element of Air (Vāyu).

Pungent foods dry up lymphs, fat and mucous, promote appetite and are both digestive and corrective. They remove impurities of all kinds, clear the passages and destroy cold. Pungent foods have power to remove diseases of the throat, as also leprosy and dropsy. If indulged in excesses pungent foods will produce various diseases. Thirst, loss of strength, contraction of the body, tremors and pains in the loins and back will be the result.

Astringent foods destroy excess of the elements of fire (Pitta) and water (Kapha), purify the blood stream, and dry up mucous and fat. Astringent taste is cooling in effect, removes diarrhœa and clears the skin. When taken in excess astringent foods will produce distension, excessive gas, heart palpitation, thirst, emaciation and various other diseases.

To summarise : Pungent, Sour and Salt are Heating.
Pungent is hot
Sour hotter, and
Salt hottest.

Likewise Bitter, Astringent and Sweet are cooling.
Bitter is cold
Astringent colder, and
Sweet coldest.

All things that can be used as food or medicine have a predominant Taste, and this must be determined with care in order that it may be correctly and accurately prescribed to combat disease or proneness to disease. Medicines having the largest number of tastes are the best, and in order that there may be the maximum number of tastes, several medicines are required to be combined in a mixture.

Problems connected with the Six Rasas are numerous, and Āyurveda seeks to solve these problems to our entire satisfaction. To treat them all is to write a volume. The subject is only briefly touched here to show the great importance the Six Rasas have on our lives. Our physical body is built with the Six Rasas and diseases supervene when these are wrongly used, or when it is no longer possible for us to assimilate the Rasas or to keep them in a state of equillibrium. The Six Rasas are, therefore, most important for our health, and if health has to be preserved all kinds of Ayoga (non-use) Atiyoga (over-use) and Mithyāyoga (wrong use) of the Six Rasas have to be avoided. This rule equally applies to learned men, research scholars and orientalists whose physical frame often, alas! is not as good as their brains!